

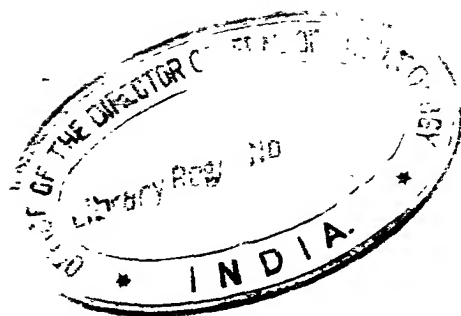
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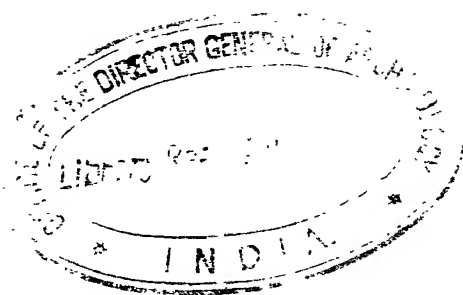
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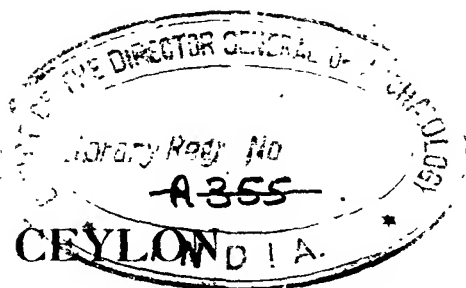




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OF THE
CEYLON BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

VOLUME XXVI.

1917-18.

Edited by the Honorary Secretary.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries
into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts,
Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and
former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

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CEYLON BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
1913.

VOLUME XXIII.

No. 66.

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A RECENT FIND OF COINS.

THE FAILURE OF THE PORTUGUESE, AND THE SINGHALESE.

21.290

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

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JOURNAL

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CEYLON BRANCH.



COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 22, 1913.

Present: .

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., D.P.I., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., M.L.C.,
Vice-President.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesékara, M.L.C., Vice-President.

<p>R. C. Kailásapillai, Gate Muda- liyár.</p> <p>Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., &c.</p> <p>Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at- Law.</p>	|	<p>Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S., LL.M.</p> <p>Simon de Silva, Gate Muda- liyár.</p> <p>Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.</p>
---	--	---

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Hony. Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on 5th November, 1912.

2. Resolved,—That the following Members be elected:—

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>(1) Alfred William Winter: recom-
mended by</p> <p>(2) Doranégoda Nānaséna Terun-
nānsé Pandit: recommended
by</p> | { | <p>F. H. de Vos.</p> <p>Gerard A. Joseph.</p>
<p>P. E. Pieris.</p> <p>Simon de Silva.</p> |
|---|---|--|

- (3) Don Richard Wijewardene, B.A.,
Barrister-at-Law: recommended by { E. W. Perera.
Gerard A. Joseph.
- (4) P. Jorlis Dias: recommended by { W. F. Guṇa-
wardhna.
J. M. Senaveratna.
- (5) Don Disanérís Weerasingha,
Translator Mohandiram: recommended by { R. G. Anthonisz.
Simon de Silva.
- (6) Horatio Thomas Cartwright,
District Engineer, C.G.R.: recommended by { H. C. P. Bell
Gerard A. Joseph.
- (7) Godfred Gerard Godwin de
Livera Senaviratna, Revenue Officer, Tamankaduwa: recommended by { Gerard A. Joseph.
E. W. Perera.

3. Considered estimates for printing the Society's Publications received from the following Firms, viz.:—Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd.; Messrs. H. W. Cave & Co.; Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson; Star Press; Times of Ceylon.

Decided to ask the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., and the Star Press: (i) to send samples of their book work with samples of the paper they propose using for printing and the art paper for illustrations; (ii) to print and submit two pages of the Society's Journal; and (iii) to give rates for printing illustrations.

Resolved,—That the acceptance of the tenders from the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., and the Star Press be left to the President and the Secretaries.

4. Considered a letter from Mr. F. Lewis to the Director, Colombo Museum, containing suggestions for keeping the Library open during longer hours.

Resolved unanimously, subject to the approval of the Museum Committee,—That:—

- (i) The Library be opened on Sunday Mornings from 7-30 to 12 noon, and that the Clerk and Peon in charge be paid Rs. 2.50 and 50 cts. respectively as remuneration for the extra hours of their attendance.
- (ii) The cost be divided between the Museum and the Society.

5. Read a letter from Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka consenting to serve as delegate at the International Congress of Historical Studies in London.

6. Considered the publication of Notes and Queries in the Journal.

Resolved unanimously,—That:—

- (a) Ceylon Notes and Queries be published quarterly and, if practicable, added to the Journal at the end of the year, and that Members be informed accordingly.
- (b) The acceptance of all Notes or Queries sent in be left to the President and Secretaries, as a Sub-Committee, to deal with.

7. Resolved,—That March 15 be provisionally fixed for the next Annual General Meeting but that the final date be left to the decision of the President and Secretaries

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 18, 1913.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President in the Chair.

Sir Christoffel Obeyesékara, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

A. M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at
Law.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Honorary Secretary.

Mr. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on 22nd January, 1913.

2. Resolved,—That the following Members be elected :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) Yálégama Saranapála
Terunnánsé : recommend-
ed by | { E. R. Gooneratna.
T. Medhankara. |
| (2) Edward James Wayland,
Assistant Mineral Sur-
veyor : recommended by | { Gerard A. Joseph.
I. M. J. Abeyasingha. |
| (3) William Reginald Bibile.
Raťémahatmayá : recom-
mended by | { H. C. P. Bell.
Gerard A. Joseph |
| (4) Mutu Bandára Medagama :
recommended by | { M. Nánissara.
W. Chas. de Silva, B.A. |
| (5) John Tampirája Muttiah,
Chief Tamil Mudaliyár,
S.C. : recommended by | { Gerard A. Joseph.
R. Chelvadurai, Proctor. |

3. Considered the matter of the early opening of the Library on Sundays.

Resolved,—That the Society do defray the whole expenses until the Museum is able to pay its share.

4. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., suggesting a Sub-Committee be appointed to select books for purchase for the Society's Library, and that Rs. 500·00 be voted for the purpose.

Resolved,—That a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. Pearson, Mr. P. E. Pieris and Dr. A. Nell be appointed, with their consent, to purchase books for the Library, and that a sum of Rs. 500-00 be voted for the purpose.

5. Laid on the table lists of books suggested for purchase by Dr. A. Nell, Mr. J. Harward and Mr. P. E. Pieris.

Decided to send the lists to the new Sub-Committee.

6. Read correspondence regarding the translation of references in Chinese books in the British Museum relating to the latest Chinese invasion of Ceylon, sent in by Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-Law.

Decided to send a copy of the *Spolia Zeylanica* containing the article on the Galle Trilingual stone to the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Branch of the Asiatic Society and to enquire from Dr. Giles and Mr. Backhouse whether the Chinese works noted therein have already been translated into English or into any other European language, and if so when and where such translations were published.

Further decided to write to Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum for full particulars regarding the works he offers to translate for the Society for £31 10s., the approximate number of folios the translations will cover, whether all or any of the Chinese books referred to by him have been translated into English or into any other European language, and if so, when and where they are published.

7. Laid on the table a short delineation of the character of Arumugam, the youthful calculator, forwarded by Mr. C. H. Noyce of London.

Resolved to acknowledge its receipt with thanks.

8. Laid on the table a Note on a silver coin entitled “Philippus,” by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

Decided to hand over the Note to the Honorary Secretaries for publication in “Ceylon Notes and Queries.”

9. Read and adopted draft Annual Report for 1912.

10. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1913.

According to Rule 16 Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz, and E. B. Denham retire by reason of seniority, and Messrs. H. W. Codrington, and the Hon. Mr. Anton Bertram by reason of least attendance.

Two of these four Members being eligible for re-election, it was resolved that Mr. R. G. Anthonisz and Mr. H. W. Codrington be nominated for re-election and that Messrs. Anton Bertram, and E. B. Denham be deemed to have retired, and in their places, Messrs. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S., and C. Hartley, M.A., be nominated for election.

11. Considered date and business for the Annual General Meeting.

Decided that the date be provisionally fixed for Saturday, the 19th April, and that the business of the Meeting be:—

- (1) Presidential Address.
- (2) Reading of the Annual Report.
- (3) Election of Office-Bearers for 1913.

Resolved,—To invite the Hon. Mr. R. E. Stubbs, Colonial Secretary, to accept the Vice-Patronship of the Society, and that Mr. Stubbs be further asked to preside at the Annual General Meeting.

12. Laid on the table draft Rules and Regulations as revised by the Sub-Committee.

Decided to consider the Rules and Regulations at a Council Meeting to be held on Tuesday, the 8th April, at 4-45 p.m.

13. Laid on the table Paper entitled “the Medical Literature of the Singhalese,” by Mr. W. Arthur de Silva, J.P.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. A. M. Gunasékara Mudaliyár and E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-Law, for their opinions.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, April 8, 1913.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesékera, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.	|	Mr. E. W. Perera, Barister-at-
A. M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyar.		Law.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.		Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. A. Joseph, Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on 18th March, 1913.

2. Resolved,—The following gentleman be elected a Non-Resident Member of the Society:—

S. R. M. C. Pethachi Chettiar,	}	R. C. Kailásapillai.
Zemindar, Kánádrokáthan,		
South India: recommended		
by		

David Dévapurararatna.

3. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. John Ferguson expressing doubt as to his ability to represent this Society at the International Congress of Historical Studies to be held in London from April 3rd to 9th, 1913.

4. Laid on the table a letter from the Private Secretary to the Hon. Mr. R. E. Stubbs intimating that he had consented to accept the position of Vice-Patron of the Society.

5. Laid on the table circular No. 85 of 19th March, 1913, containing the opinions of Messrs. A. M. Gunasékera Mudaliyár, and E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-Law, on the Paper entitled "The Medical Literature of the Sinhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication and that the suggestions made by the Sub-Committee be referred to the writer.

6. Considered the final revision of draft new Rules as revised by Sub-Committee. Work was carried as far as Rule 13.

7. Fixed Monday, 21st April, for the next Meeting, to continue the final revision of the new Rules.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, April 19, 1913.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., C.C.S., D.P.I., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. Chelvadurai, Proctor.

Simon de Silva, Mudaliyar.

Mr. P. E. S. Dharmasékara.

Dr. V. D. Goonaratna.

Mr. A. H. Gomes.

Mr. C. H. Joliffe.

The Hon. Mr. Kanagasabai.

Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.

Pandit D. Nānasēna Théro.

Ven. M. Sri Nānissara, High Priest.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. Charles Reith.

Mr. C. C. J. Senaviratna,
Proctor, S.C.

Mr. John M. Senaveratna.

Dr. V. Van Langenberg, M.B.,
C.M.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Four ladies and twelve gentlemen.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on 17th December, 1912.

2. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

3. Mr. J. Harward, President, delivered the following

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

I have attempted in this Address to summarise for you the work which has actually been done by this Society during the last ten years, to show the ground covered by the papers published in the Society's Journals, to group certain papers together and to attempt to indicate their significance.

Starting with this modest intention, I have been tempted to go a little farther and to include in this Review references to important work which has not appeared in the Society's Journal, but which has been done by present, or past, Members of the Society, or which is indirectly connected with it by the fact that the Council of the Society has been consulted with regard to it. It will I am sure be understood, that I do not profess to speak with personal knowledge of the many subjects which must be touched on in such a review.

Our journals for this period (1903-1912), including that for 1912 which will shortly appear, contain 57 Papers. Twenty-seven of these are either directly historical or devoted to the

publication of documents and inscriptions on which history is based. I will return to these later. Of the remaining 30 contributions, five which deal with numismatics might have been grouped with the historical Papers: for coins are one of the most reliable forms of historical evidence. *Four of these contributions are by one author, Mr. J. Still, and form an important group of Papers dealing with the early coinage of Ceylon,—a subject on which much new light has been thrown during the last 35 years. Mr. Still's Papers are valuable, not only for their original work, but also because they put in an accessible form a large amount of information about recent discoveries. His ACCOUNT OF THE ROMAN COPPER COINS formerly current in Ceylon and of the locally made imitations of them is an interesting episode in the history of currencies.

The remaining Paper† on coins is one entitled "A Note on the Palæography of Ceylon," by the late Mr. C. M. Fernando, and deals briefly with the characters in the Nágari legends on the later coinage of the 12th and 13th century. There is much work still to be done in connection with the coins in the Colombo Museum, and in private collections; and it is satisfactory to learn that a revised description of the Museum collection is being prepared by Mr. H. W. Codrington and Mr. J. Still.

Not the least attractive of the Papers contributed to the Society are those dealing with topography of which there are six, the contributors being Mr. Arunáchalam, Mr. J. P. Lewis, Mr. F. Lewis, Mr. J. Still, and the late Mr. Donald Ferguson. No paper read before the Society has been listened to with more interest than Mr. Donald Ferguson's account of Mulgiri-gala;‡ Mr. J. Still's Paper on §Tantri-Malai, with the illustrations and supplementary material attached to it, forms one of the most attractive sections of the Journal in which it appears. Mr. F. Lewis contributed two papers|| on little known localities in the Eastern Province. There is still a large amount of work to be done in the exploration of ancient sites in this province and in the low-country jungles of Uva.

On Folklore, Folk Songs and Primitive Customs only two Papers have appeared in the Journal, Dr. Coomáraswámy's account of ¶ceremonies connected with paddy cultivation, and Mr. W. A. de Silva's description of bali** ceremonies. The literature of this subject has been enriched by the publication of Mr. Parker's valuable work; but as a Member of the Society

* Vol. XVIII., No. 56, p. 398. Vol. XIX., No. 58, pp. 161, 191, 199.

† Vol. XVIII., No. 55, p. 162.

‡ Vol. XXII., No. 64, p. 197.

§ Vol. XXII., No. 63, p. 73.

|| Vol. XIX., No. 58, p. 142. Vol. XXI., No. 61, p. 165.

¶ Vol. XVIII., No. 56, p. 413.

** Vol. XXII., No. 64, p. 140

writes to me, "there is a great deal of material (fast disappearing) which is still to be gathered from the lips of the people and which ought to be collected before it is too late."

Under the head of Art the last ten years have seen the production of very important work both in India and Ceylon. The Society cannot claim any proprietary right in Dr. COOMARASWAMY'S '*magnum opus*' on Sinhalese Art, but the author's *two contributions on the subject to our Journal and the two lectures which he delivered to the Society, give us a right to congratulate him on the completion of such a splendid piece of work.

On the kindred subject of Architecture we have had one Paper,—an interesting discussion on the † "Antiquity of Stone Architecture in India," by Don M. de Z. Wickramasingha.

Music has not been entirely neglected. One Paper on ‡Kandyan music has been contributed by Mahawalatenné Bandár. Literature has not received much attention in our Journals during this period,—the §only Paper being Mr. W. A. de Silva's account of the modern dramatic poetry of the Sinhalese.

On Philology we have not had a single Paper. The subject is not one on which any Paper is likely to be written which could be suitable for reading at a public Meeting. But there is ample scope for work which might suitably appear in the Society's Journals. The Elu forms of the Sinhalese language, and their affinities in the cognate languages of India, form a field of study on which much valuable work remains to be done. In fact very little systematic work on the subject has been published. I am informed that Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe, who was for many years a Member of the Council of the Society, and who contributed a valuable Paper on this subject to the Society's Journal in 1882, has completed an Elu Dictionary. I hope that some means will be found of publishing this while he is still able to see it through the press.

Philosophy is not a subject which has ever figured largely in the Society's Journals, though here again there is ample scope for work in the materials offered both by Páli and by Tamil Literature. It is a pleasure to mention that our Journals, during the period under review, contain one philosophical contribution of real value,—the ||paper on the Tamil poem, "Jnána Vásishtam," by Mr. P. Arunáchalam. I may express the hope that now that the author of that paper has more leisure, we shall receive more work of a similar kind from his pen. Outside Ceylon the philosophy contained in the Páli Sacred Books has received much attention both in Europe and America; and it is perhaps not inappropriate to mention that Professor Lanman of the Harvard University, who is engaged in reproducing the

* Vol. XIX., No. 57, p. 72. Vol. XIX., No. 58, p. 103.

† Vol. XXI., No. 62, p. 327.

‡ Vol. XXI., No. 61, p. 129.

§ Vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 90.

|| Vol. XXI., No. 62, p. 303.

philosophy of Buddhaghósha, has thought it worth while to obtain from Ceylon Scholars versions of considerable parts of the ancient Sinhalese paraphrase of the Visuddhi Magga by Parákrama Báhu II.

On Ethnology we have had two *Papers, both from outside investigators.—Dr. Seligman's notes of his research work among the Veddás were to some extent an anticipation of the full and valuable work on the subject which he has since published.

On Prehistoric Ceylon we have had one †short paper only, entitled "A few remarks on Prehistoric Stones in Ceylon," by Mr. John Pole. The subject is one on which a great deal of patient work has to be done by collectors and investigators before there is much to show for it. But I believe that work is being done from which we may in time expect some new light on the Stone Age in Ceylon.

In this very brief review I have only alluded to those Papers which can conveniently be grouped under the branches of study which I have mentioned. But I must not omit to add that every Annual Report of the Society has been enriched by a summary contributed by the Archæological Commissioner dealing with the year's work of the Archæological Survey. We have owed this in the past to the kindness of Mr. H. C. P. Bell, whose long tenure of the appointment has recently been terminated by his retirement on pension. His successor, Mr. E. R. Ayrtton, is giving us a similar contribution this year, and I hope that he will continue to do so.

Mr. Bell fortunately still remains with us; and, now that he is relieved of official duties, it may be hoped that he will have some leisure for unofficial publications.

In this connection I may add that it has been suggested to me that the work of the Archæological Survey might be supplemented by the appointment of a special Committee or Commission for the Preservation of Ancient and Historical Monuments, which would, with the least possible delay, draw up a List of important remains throughout the Island, with a view to safeguarding them from destruction. There has been, and is, a good deal of such destruction; some of it perhaps is inevitable. Such a body would devote special attention to buildings and remains which are in danger of destruction because they are in crowded localities, and to those Temples and Monuments which are being irretrievably injured by "restorations" and "improvements" carried out by the Buddhist monks in charge of them.

I return now to the more definitely Historical part of the Society's work. Of the twenty-seven historical papers, fourteen belong to the Dutch period, nine to the Portuguese period, and four to the two centuries which preceded the coming of the Portuguese.

* Vol. XXI., No. 61, pp. 59 and 73.

† Vol. XIX., No. 58, p. 272

The Papers on the Dutch period comprise the *2nd, 3rd, and 4th Parts of the reproduction by Mr. F. H. de Vos of the Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company, and †three other Papers by the same author based on Dutch Records. All of these contain material valuable to the future historian of the Dutch period.

From the late Mr. Donald Ferguson we have had two‡ Papers on the "CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN RÁJA SĪNHA II. AND THE DUTCH" These Papers include full translations of the original Portuguese letters and are very carefully annotated. It would be difficult to point to a better model of historical study based on original documents, than that which is afforded by these and other contributions of the same author. If I may presume to offer advice to students in Ceylon, who have not had the advantage of studying history at a University, under teachers who have the true spirit of research, I would urge them to study Mr. Donald Ferguson's work again and again, and observe carefully his use of original materials.

Mr. Donald Ferguson has also contributed an §interesting Paper on "John Gideon Loten, the naturalist Governor of Ceylon," which has been supplemented by Memoranda by Mr. F. H. de Vos, and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Three Notes on Dutch Medals have been contributed, ||one by Mr. F. H. de Vos, and ¶two by Mr. P. E. Pieris.

The Sinhalese side of the history of the same period has also been illustrated by Mr. P. E. Pieris, by the translation of Sinhalese documents dealing with **Kirti Śrī's Embassy to Siam in 1750 and the ††Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731-2.

The contributions to the history of the Portuguese period, though less numerous, are certainly not less important.

From the hand of the late Mr. Donald Ferguson we have two special Numbers of the Journal, ‡‡one of 445 pages giving his translation with notes of the History of Ceylon down to 1600A.D. by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto; the §§other of 116 pages dealing with the discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese.

Mr. J. P. Lewis has written an illustrated |||account of the Portuguese inscriptions in Jaffna, Maññár and Colombo, and

* Vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 51; No. 56, p. 393, and Vol. XXII., No. 63, p. 63.

† Vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 100; No. 55, p. 313 and No. 56, p. 325.

‡ Vol. XVIII., No. 55, p. 166, and Vol. XXI., No. 62, p. 259.

§ Vol. XIX., No. 58, p. 217.

|| Vol. XVIII., No. 56, p. 408.

¶ Vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 130, and Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 260.

** Vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 17.

†† Vol. XXI., No. 62, p. 187.

‡‡ Vol. XX., No. 60.

§§ Vol. XIX., No. 59, p. 284.

||| Vol. XVIII., No. 56, p. 350.

Mr. P. E. Pieris an *account of inscriptions in St. Thomas' Church, Colombo.

Mr. P. E. Pieris has also given to the Society an †important Paper on Portuguese Ceylon of the 17th century. He has also added to the materials for the history of the period by publishing his own translation of Ribeiro. The Sinhalese side of the history of the same period is full of difficulties and offers scope for ingenious attempts at re-construction. It has been dealt with by Mr. P. E. Pieris in his Papers on the ‡rebellion of Eḍirillé Rāla, and on the §date of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., and by Mr. W. F. Gunawardana in a ||Paper on Rāja Siṅha I.

ON THE SINGHALESE HISTORY of the two centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese we have had four Papers, two from Mr. E. W. Perera, on ¶“Alakésvara, his life and times,” and on the**“Age of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI,” and two from Simon de Silva, Mudaliyār, on ††Vijaya Báhu VI. and the ‡‡Kérágala Inscription. These Papers have given rise to controversial discussion which I will not raise again or attempt even to summarise. But two points deserve mention. First, the period is one to which some of the most important specimens of extant Sinhalese poetry belong,—Mr. Perera's Paper on the Age of Parākrama Báhu VI. contains an interesting attempt to reconstruct the history of the period from its literature. Secondly, the period dealt with in all these Papers belongs to the time when Ceylon was to some extent under the sway of China, and on which light is thrown by Chinese records.

All of you are doubtless familiar with those very interesting parts of Sir Emerson Tennent's great work on Ceylon in which he gives extracts from the Chinese historians who deal with the period. It is scarcely creditable to Ceylon research that since Sir Emerson Tennent's time there has been no more extensive attempt to collect all the references to Ceylon which are buried in Chinese Literature. The subject has lately been engaging the attention of the Council of the Society and we are now attempting to make a fresh start in the collection of Chinese materials. Some expense will be involved; but it is to be hoped that this will not be allowed to be an obstacle to a full investigation of this interesting side of Ceylon History. In this connection it may be mentioned that the summary which the Archaeological Commissioner has furnished of last year's work mentions two finds of Chinese Coins at Yápahuwa dating from the 10th to the 13th Century A.D., and

* Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 385.

† Vol. XXI., No. 61, p. 89.

‡ Vol. XXII., No. 64, p. 168.

§ Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 267.

|| Vol. XVIII., No. 56, p. 382.

¶ Vol. XVIII., No. 55, p. 281.

** Vol. XXII., No. 63, p. 6.

†† Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 316.

‡‡ Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 404.

that a long Chinese inscription found at Galle was published last year in the *Spolia Zeylanica*.

This completes my review of the contents of our Journal for the last ten years. But I must not conclude without allusion to one other point. It is certainly strange that during a period in which very much work of first rate importance bearing on the earliest authentic history of Ceylon has been done in Europe and America, the Journals of this Society should be a complete blank on the subject.

The critical edition of a revised Páli text of the *Mahāvamsa* by Professor Geiger was published by the Páli Text Society in 1908. In Ceylon, to whose scholars, Sinhalese and English, the learned world owes its original knowledge of the *Mahāvamsa*, and where a large number of native students have a most intimate acquaintance with the Páli text, this important work has been received in silence.

In the same year the Ceylon Government Press published Mrs. Coomáraswámy's translation of Professor Geiger's Monograph on the *Dípawansa* and *Mahāvansa* published in German three years earlier. This fascinating study of the genesis of an epic poem, which raises the whole question of the authenticity of early Ceylon History, has also been received without comment in Ceylon.

Finally in 1912 the Páli Text Society, at the expense of the Ceylon Government, has published a new translation of the *Mahāvansa* proper, by Professor Geiger, assisted by Mrs. Bode, with introduction and notes, in which the results of the latest research are fully dealt with.

It would be out of place for me to attempt to speak at all fully of these works on this occasion, even if I were competent to do so. But two points deserve mention. The first is that the very valuable critical work which has been done by Professor Geiger, would not have been possible without a lot of preliminary work which has been done by NATIVE SCHOLARS IN CEYLON and published at the Government Press and at private presses. Professor Geiger's investigation rests on a minute study of works like the "*Páli Mahāvansa*," edited by Baṭuwantudáve and Sumaṅgala, the "*Mahāvansa Tiká*," edited by Baṭuwantudáve and Nānissara Unnānsé, the Páli "*Athanagalavansa*," edited by J. J. Alvis, the "*Dhātuvaṇsa*," edited by Dhammakhanda Unnānsé, the "*Rájaratnākara*," edited by Saddhananda Unnānsé, the Páli and Sinhalese "*Thūpavaṇsa*," edited by Dhammaratana Unnānsé and other works of the same kind. The second point is that his exhaustive study leads him, on the whole, to regard the Ceylon authorities as trustworthy guides, if read with a due regard to the first principles of criticism. Some recent scholars in England and Germany have adopted a different view, especially as regards the account given by the chronicles of the conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism, which has been described as a tissue of absurdities. It is satisfactory to find

that Professor Geiger is not afraid to accept Mahinda and Sangamittā as historical personages.

There is, I suppose, no period in the early history of any country, which as a study of historical evidence, presents more interesting matter than the age of Asoka. You are probably familiar with the accounts of it in Bishop Copleston's "Buddhism," and in Rhys Davids' "Buddhist India." If so, let me urge on you to purchase this new translation of the *Mahāvamsa* and to read again the charming narrative of the first twenty chapters with Professor Geiger's wise and scholarly introduction.

In conclusion I should like to express the hope that before long Ceylon will have an institution to which a chair of Sanskrit and Pāli will be attached, and that among those who have received some education in the literature and thought of the West, there will be some few who will be led to the study of the no less important thought and literature of the East. The stores of learning, which exist here, not in books but in the minds of native scholars who have studied the language and literature in the laborious, if somewhat uncritical method, which fortunately has not yet died out in Ceylon *pirivenas*, give exceptional opportunities to local students who can communicate freely with these eminent scholars in their own language. Valuable as is some of the critical work which has been done in recent years in Europe and America, there is no doubt that it has lost something by the fact that much of it has necessarily been done by scholars who were dependent on books and other lifeless records for their material and who were not in constant touch with those whose minds have been trained and stored by the old fashioned methods by which learning has been handed on from teacher to pupil in the East.

4. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph then read the Annual Report of the Council for 1912.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1912.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for 1912.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Four General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year, at which the following Papers were read and discussed:—

- (1) "Notes on a Dutch Medal," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
- (2) "The Date of King Bhuvanēka Báhu VII.," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.
- (3) "Vijaya Báhu VII.," by Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
- (4) "Inscriptions at St. Thomas' Church, Colombo," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

(5) “Kérágala Inscription,” by Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

At a General Meeting the Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam read a Note on Árumogam, the Tamil Calculator, and this was followed by Árumogam giving a demonstration of his calculating powers. A note on the “Ceylon Archives at the Cape of Good Hope,” by Mr. R. W. Lee, was accepted for publication in the Journal.

A Paper entitled “The Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon,” by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson, will be issued as a special Number of the Journal.

The following Papers were also accepted during the year for publication in the Journal:—

(1) “Medicinal Brand-marks on Cattle,” by Mr. T. B. Yatawara, J.P., Ratémahatmayá.

(2) “D'Oyly's Diary,” corrected and verified with Index and Preface, prepared by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.

MEMBERS.

During the past year twenty-seven new ordinary Members were elected.

Life-Members.—The following gentlemen have become Life-Members:—The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Registrar-General; The Hon. Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Advocate-General of Madras; Mr. H. L. de Mel, Proctor, S.C., Revd. J. P. de Pinto, Wesleyan Minister; Mr. S. B. Kuruppu, Proctor, S.C.

Resigned.—Ten Members have resigned, viz:—Dr. H. F. Bawa, Dr. A. J. Chalmers, Mr. R. S. Churchill, Mr. C. Driberg, Mr. T. Harward, Dr. R. H. Lock, Mr. S. Obeyesékera, Mr. C. T. Symons, Mr. C. T. D. Vigers, Dr. J. C. Willis.

Deaths.—The Council record with regret the death of Lord Stanmore, and Dr. V. R. Saravanamuttu, M.D., who was a member of the Society since 1898.

Lord Stanmore, as Sir A. H. Gordon, Governor, was Patron of this Society from 1883 to 1890. He was made an Honorary Member a few months after he left Ceylon in May, 1890.

He was more than official Patron of the Society, he did signal service for it in many ways by helping the promotion of culture and inquiry, particularly in the field of Archæology, and he finally established the Archæological Survey of Ceylon. Among services which Lord Stanmore rendered to Oriental Literature the translation of the *Mahāwansa* by L. C. Wijeyesin̄ha, Mudaliyár, must not be forgotten.

Defaulters.—The names of eight Members have been struck off from the List of Members for non-payment of subscriptions.

The Society has now on its roll 364 Members: of these 37 are Life-Members, and eight Honorary Members.

PUBLICATIONS.

One Number of the Journal, Vol. XXII., No. 64, was published during the year. It contains in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and General Meetings the following Papers:—

1. "Notes on the Bali Ceremonies of the Sinhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
2. "The Rebellion of Edirillé Rála, 1594—1596," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
3. "Mulgiri-gala," by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.

It has been decided to try the experiment of publishing quarterly if possible "Ceylon Notes and Queries" to supplement the Society's Journal.

THE MAHÁVAṆṢA.

The appearance of a new translation of the *Mahávaṇṣa* (Chapters I.—XXXVII.) calls for special mention. In 1908 the Society was consulted on this subject by the Ceylon Government, and urged that Government should undertake the publication of a revised edition of the translation.

The original recommendation of the Council was that the work should be carried out under the direction of a Committee, with Professor Rhys Davids as Editor in Europe assisted by Messrs. P. Arunáchalam and Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, in Ceylon.

Professor Rhys Davids, after consulting European scholars, suggested that the work would be more likely to appear within reasonable time if entrusted to a single competent scholar, and recommended the selection of Professor Geiger, whose revised text of the *Mahávaṇṣa* had just been completed. This course was adopted.

Professor Geiger translated his revised text into German, and an English translation of this, with Professor Geiger's introduction and notes, was made by Mrs. Bode, Lecturer on Páli, at the University College, London, and revised by Professor Geiger. The work has been published by the Páli Text Society at the expense of the Ceylon Government. It contains only the original *Mahávaṇṣa*, i.e., Chapters I.—XXXVII. The Council hope that it will be followed by a revised edition of Mudaliyár L.C. Wijeyesinha's translation of the continuation of the chronicle.

DE QUEIROZ.

On the recommendation of the Council, the Ceylon Government has purchased the Portuguese Manuscript entitled "Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon," by Fernão de Queiroz, which was in the possession of Mr. P. E. Pieris. This important work has never been published, and it is hoped that a translation will be undertaken of those parts of it which refer to Ceylon History.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of Periodicals, numbered 314.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following:—

The Archæological Survey of India; The Government of India; Mr. H. Coupland, I.C.S.; Sir R. C. Temple; *Revista Italiana*; The Manager, Indian Thought; The Government of Formosa; The Máha Bódhi Society; Dr. A. Carroll, M.A., D.Sc.; Mr. S. M. Gupta; Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A.; Dr. J. Horovity, Phd.; Mr. T. Southwell, A.R.C.S.; Mr. J. A. Vas, B.A., L.L.B.; Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S.; The Director-General of Archæology, India; The Government of Ceylon; The Archæological Department, Madras; Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.; Mr. H. G. Walton, I.C.S.; The Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary, Ceylon; The Postmaster-General, Ceylon; Mr. M. Chakkravarti, M.A.; Miss Sophia Egroff; Mr. G. P. Andrew; Mr. E. R. Neves, I.C.S.; Mr. H. R. Nevill, I.C.S.; Messrs. G. Thibant and Ganganaka; Dr. K. Asakawa, Phd.; Mr. S. V. Fitzgerald; Mr. Gabriel Gunawardana; Mr. W. B. Tydd; The Planters' Association of Ceylon; Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy, D.Sc.; Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickramasingha, M.A.; Mr. B. C. Allan, I.C.S.; Mr. F. W. Strong, I.C.S.; The Editor, Wilson Bulletin.

The following books were purchased during the year:—

1. *Epistolæ Praepositorum Generalium ad Patres et Fratres Societatis Jesu Antuerpiae: apud Joannem Meursiom, 1635.*
2. *Ruins of Desert Cathay, 2 vols., by M. Aurel Stein, London, 1912.*
3. *Indian shipping: A History of the sea-borne Trade and Maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times, by R. Mookerji, London, 1912.*
4. *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo Pelos Padres Da Companhia de Jesu da Provincia de Goa. Part I. and II., by P. Francisco de Sousa, Lisboa, 1710.*
5. *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government. Dutch Records No. 15. Accompaniments to letters from Negapatam, 1748—1750 and 1757—8. Copied by the Revd. P. Groot, Madras, 1911.*
6. *Historia Indiae Orientalis ex variis auctoribus collecta et juxta Seriem Topographicam Regnorum Provinciarum et Insularum, per Africae Asiaeque littora ad extremos usque Japonios deducta auctore M. Gotardo Arthus Dantiscano. MDCVIII.*
7. *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian. In fifteen books. The first five contain the Antiquities of Egypt, Asia, Africa, Greece, the Islands and Europe.*

- The last ten, an Historical account of the affairs of the Persians, Grecians, Macedonians and other Parts of the World. To which are added, the fragments of Diodorus that are found in the Bibliotheca of Photius: Together with those published by H. Valesius, L. Rhodomannus and F. Ursinus. Made English by G. Booth of the City of Chester Esq., London, 1700.
8. Orissa and her Remains Ancient and Mediæval (District Pari) with an Introduction by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. G. Woodroffe, by M. M. Ganguly Vidya-ratna, Calcutta, 1912.
 9. Everybody's Astrology, by Allan Leo, London, 1909.
 10. What is a Horoscope and How is it Cast? by Allan Leo, London, 1910.
 11. Theoretical Astrology, by H. S. Green, London, 1903.
 12. The Horoscope in Detail, by Allan Leo and H. S. Green, London, 1909.
 13. Directions and Directing, by H. S. Green, with a foreword by Allan Leo, London, 1905.
 14. Planetary Influences, by Bessie Leo.
 15. The Degrees of the Zodiac Symbolised, by Charubel, London, 1907.
 16. Prognostic Astronomy, by Sepharial, London, 1901.
 17. The Progressed Horoscope, by Alan Leo (complete with appendices), London, 1908.
 18. Solar Biology, by Hiram E. Butler, London, 1910.
 19. The Influence of the Stars, by Rosa Baughan, London, 1904.
 20. Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadim. Manuscripto Arabe do Seculo XVI. Publicado E Traduzido por David Lopes S. S. G. L. Lisboa, 1898.
 21. L'Apôtre De Ceylan P. Joseph Vaz Pretre de l'Oratoire, 1651—1711. Calcutta, 1896.
 22. Selections from the Records of the Madras Government Dutch Records No. 14. Memoir written in the year 1677 A.D., by Hendrik Adriaan Van Rhee de Commandeur of the Malabar, Canara and Wingurla Coast for his successor. Madras, 1911.
 23. Astrology for All, by Allan Leo, London, 1910.
 24. Hollandsche Mercurius, Verhalende de voornaemste saken van Staet en andere voorvallen die in en omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden en elders in Europa, 1650 to 1687.
 25. Geschiedenis der Stichting van de Vereenigde O. I. Compagnie en der Maatregelen van de Nederlandsche Regering Betreffende de Vaart op Oost—Indie, Welke aan deze stichting voorafgingen door Mr. J. van Der Chys, Leyden, 1857.

EXCHANGES.

There are now 50 Institutions on the exchange list, which receive the Society's Journal. The Society is indebted to most of them for valuable exchanges received during the past year.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN 1912.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., retired in December, 1912, from the position of Archæological Commissioner, which he has held since the year 1890.

This is not the place in which to attempt any estimate of the importance of Mr. Bell's work as Archæological Commissioner. But the Council take this opportunity of thanking him for the very valuable and interesting summaries which he has submitted year by year to the Society's Annual Reports. These, as published in the Society's Journals, form a very convenient record, and an outline of the progress of the work in its various branches.

The Council is indebted to Mr. Bell's successor, Mr. E. R. Ayrton, for the following summary of the Archæological work done in 1912.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1912.*

1.—ANURÁDHAPURA.

1.—*Clearing.*

All the Archæological Reservations at Anurádhapura were cleared of jungle and weeds.

2.—*Excavations.*

Jétavanaráma Area Section No. 1.—The northern portion of the ruins lying north-west of the Lanjáráma Dágaba was excavated.

The remains of two separate monasteries of the usual type—a central image house surrounded by four small monastic buildings—were unearthed.

The northernmost monastery is approached by a long stone lined road and imposing entrance. The other group is similar in style of building and sculpture to the King's Pavilion.

†“*Duttugámani's Tomb.*”—This name was applied locally to two low mounds of earth situated at the junction of the Outer Circular Road and the Road from the Lanjáráma Dágaba.

Excavation shows that the western mound hid the remains of the square platforms of two brick *sohon* or tombs, and the

* Mr. E. R. Ayrton served as Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner from March 1912. He assumed acting charge of the Archæological Survey on September 9th, and succeeded Mr. Bell in the substantive post from December 8th.

† Works executed subsequent to September 8th, when Mr. E. R. Ayrton relieved Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

eastern mound covered a brick-faced rock with a chamber on its summit and a small shrine on its eastern side. The top of the rock was reached by a flight of stone steps built against its southern face. These three buildings were contained in a long narrow courtyard with an entrance on the east. The shrine perhaps dates from the 12th century A.D. and the *sohon* are probably not older.

*“*Elephant Stables.*”—The local nomenclature is again at fault. The huge pillars to the north-east of the so-called Duttugāmaṇi’s Tomb obviously mark the site of some large monastery of the type known as ‘pāsāda.’ Excavations have been begun here and should yield interesting results. The size of the building shows that it was of some importance and, now that the identity of the great northern Dāgaba (locally known as Jétawanā-rāma) with the Abhayagiri Dāgaba is practically established, we may perhaps hazard the guess that this was the famous Ratnapāsāda, the headquarters of the Highpriest of the Dhammaruci fraternity of the Abhayagiri monks.

“*King’s Palace*” so called popularly.—The group of buildings within the inner enclosure of the Monastery to the north-east of the “Elephant Stables” has been thoroughly excavated. It consists of a central image house with four smaller buildings, one at each corner. The inner enclosure wall has no less than six entrances. The ground between the inner and outer walls has not yet been excavated, but the remains of numerous small buildings can be seen above the surface of the ground. As the image house possesses the finest sculptured moonstone and steps in Anurādhapura, it has been thought advisable to fence in the whole of the monastic area to keep out stray cattle.

**Outer Circular Road “Palaces.”*—Three of the largest of these groups of ruins have been carefully excavated. All the buildings are alike in plan and construction but differ in small details and in the number of outhouses annexed to each.

Each group consists of a central building of two raised rectangular platforms connected by a monolith. The first of these platforms was unroofed and formed a sort of verandah, but the monolith supported a roofed porch leading on to the second platform on which was probably a house of at least two storeys in height. This block was surrounded by a high brick wall outside which stood smaller buildings such as lavatories, granaries and ‘dyeing houses.’ Within the enclosure was sunk a small tank into which ran the drainage of the House and courtyard.

The main entrance to the courtyard was a strong stone porch with a stone roof on which there appears to have been a brick and mortar spire.

It is to be hoped that the complete excavation of all buildings of this type at Anurādhapura will provide an explanation of their use. So far the results of excavation have been distinctly disappointing. The fragments of pottery and glass, found

* Works executed subsequent to September 8th, when Mr. E. R. Ayrton relieved Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

chiefly in the tanks, seem to be of a comparatively recent date. The only sculptures found, besides the plainly cut pilasters on the balustrades, are two well cut "*mūtra-gal*" or lavatory stones, the larger of which bears so strong a resemblance to the well known "*mūtra-gala*" lying to the east of the Ruwanvḍi Dāgaba that it probably belongs to the same period. These buildings were apparently secular in purpose but no definite opinion can yet be expressed on this point.

3.—*Restoration and Conservation.*

Jétawanārāma Dāgaba.—Work was continued on the tee and pinnacle of this Dāgaba. The brick work on the north, south and east faces of the tee (*hatares kotuwa*), which had been previously partially restored by the Archæological Survey, was further built up, on a slope, to the level of the base of the pinnacle. The surface, ten feet broad, was concreted with a slight slope to throw off rain water.

The plinth of the lower part of the pinnacle (*dévatā kotuwa*) was plastered with cement to bind it in well with the concrete floor and all cracks and holes in brick work above were filled with brick work and plaster. The whole of the coping was restored in brick and lime mortar and its upper surface coated with cement.

Pankuliya Vihāré.—The large sedent stone Buddha was restored and set up on an *āsana* made of brick and mortar coated with cement.

Buddha on the Outer Circular Road.—This image, situated between the "Elephant Stables" and "Duttugāmaṇi's Tomb" was wantonly broken up by treasure seekers. It has now been restored and the opportunity taken of seating it again on its original throne.

Ransimālakaya.—A cemented brick wall topped with iron spikes and fitted with an iron gate has been erected round this ancient alms hall.

4.—*Archæological Reservations.*

The surveying and defining with land marks by the Survey Department of the Crown Reservation on account of ruins has been carried on throughout the year and is making good progress.

II.—SĪGIRIYA.

1.—*Clearing.*

The summit of the Rock was cleared of the long grass which annually springs up. The Māpāgala rocks were cleared of jungle growth. The various "islands" within the bund to the east of the rock and the large dāgaba, viharé, &c., on the Inamalawa road, about three quarters of a mile from Sīgiriya, were also cleared.

2.—Excavations.

A large stone-pillared Monastery lying to the south of the *dágaba* on the road to Inamalawa was excavated by trenches along the east and north.

The entrance of six steps with curved limestone *lalustrades* and guardstones was on the north side. The whole building is in a very ruinous condition.

3.—Restoration.

The final touches were given to the staircases of the Southern Approach.

The ruined stone wall east of the “Lion-Stair-Case” house was restored but fell again owing to the heavy rains and will have to be rebuilt next year.

III.—POLONNARUWA.

1.—Clearing.

All shrubs and weeds were cleared as usual on the Archæological Reservations.

2.—Excavations.

The large mound to the south-west of the *Jétawanárâma Vihâré* was excavated and a very fine Monastery, raised on several terraces, was exposed, consisting originally of at least two storeys in height. The whole place had evidently suffered from fire which had cracked and discoloured the plaster. The lower storey, all that remains at present, shows twelve cells round a central Hall in the middle of which is a raised dais. Round this building ran an open verandah with two rows of small pillars on each side. These were reset. The main entrance lay to the west.

Two *sohon* to the north were excavated.

3.—Restoration.

“*Jétawanárâma Vihâré*.”—Work was continued on the inner and outer walls of the shrine. The steps and balustrade were reset and the floor of the doorway laid with cement. The basement of the *Maṇḍapa* was restored and pointed in cement and the fallen flights of steps were also replaced.

Quadrangle near Tópaveva.—The west stone facing wall of the platform was dismantled and rebuilt.

Kiri Vihâré.—Eight cracks on the face of the bell of the *Dágaba* were filled in with brick work and the big hole made by treasure seekers was filled up.

4.—Drawing.

The frescoes at *Demala-Mahá-Séya* were sketched and an oil painting made by Mr. D. A. L. Perera. Head Draughtsman, of the scene of Buddha's descent from Heaven.

IV.—YĀPĀHUWA.

1.—*Clearing.*

All the ruins opened out in 1911 at the base of the Rock were cleared of jungle. The coarse grass on the summit of the Rock was also cut and burnt.

2.—*Excavations.*

The “*Mal-viḷa*” (Lotus pond) on the top of the rock was cleared of earth. It is a shallow depression in the rock flanked by brick walls now in a ruinous condition.

The foundations in stone and brick of a large building, possibly forming part of a monastery, were dug out on the top of the rock.

The gateway in the outer wall of the city was excavated. It consisted of two guardhouses between which a shallow flight of steps leads up and down.

Some interesting finds of Chinese coins, dating from the middle of the 10th to the beginning of the 13th century A.D., were made here.

The inner bund is rather the facing of a broad terrace topped by a wall than a true bund. On this terrace the remains of several buildings have been excavated, of which two appear to be monastic in purpose. The palace which stood on a small plateau against the rock and above this terrace was also dug out. It was built of burnt brick and is disappointingly small in size.

3.—*Restoration.*

The palace was originally approached by a stone staircase in three flights. The lowest was in a state of fair preservation, but the second had almost entirely collapsed. It originally consisted of about 70 steps supported on each side, for at least half its height, by superimposed platforms diminishing in size. The expense of restoring the whole flight would have been too great and only thirty steps with six platforms on either side have been rebuilt. On the top platform an iron ladder has been fixed allowing easy access to the third flight of steps.

This flight, the most ornate of the staircases with its elaborate balustrades, was rebuilt by the Public Works Department in 1886. This year all cracks in the cement of this flight have been filled up, the door lintel hoisted up and fixed in position and two columns, which obviously belonged to each side of the interior of the *mura-gé*, replaced.

It may be found necessary later to strengthen the whole of the upper part of this flight of steps since several cracks have begun to appear in the masonry.

V.—NĀLANDA.

The *gedigé* and the area round were cleared of jungle and weeds.

The removal of some of the earth in front of the temple resulted in the discovery of more fallen sculptured blocks and pillars.

ACCOMMODATION.

When the extension of the east wing of the Museum was taken in hand in 1908, it was expected that some room would be

afforded for the Library, but the Council regret to state that the Society has not materially benefitted by the extension.

Donations and exchanges of publications from various learned Societies are gradually accumulating, but there is positively no room for housing these in a proper manner.

The Council hope that the west wing of the Museum, passed and approved by Government, will be undertaken shortly, and that by this means necessary room may be afforded for the Library of the Society.

COUNCIL.

Under rule 16 Messrs. R. C. Kailásapillai, Mudaliyár and C. Drieberg, retired by seniority, and Messrs. D. B. Jayatilaka and A. Mendis Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, by least attendance; but two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election. Messrs. R. C. Kailásapillai, Gate Mudaliyár, and A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, were re-elected, and in the places of Messrs. C. Drieberg and D. B. Jayatilaka, Messrs. H. W. Codrington and W. A. de Silva were elected.

The vacancy caused by the departure of Dr. J. C. Willis was filled by the appointment of the Hon. Mr. Anton Bertram.

PATRON AND PRESIDENTSHIP.

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., who was President of the Society since 1909, having been appointed Governor of the Gold Coast, left the Island in September; and the vacancy caused by his departure was filled by the appointment of Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Director of Public Instruction.

Your Council desire to place on record their sense of indebtedness to Sir Hugh Clifford for the exceedingly valuable services which he rendered to the Society during the past five years as Vice-Patron and President.

The Hon. Mr. R. E. Stubbs has kindly consented to succeed Sir Hugh Clifford as Vice-Patron.

The departure of His Excellency Sir Henry McCallum, Patron of the Society, falls outside the period now under review, but the Council take this opportunity of thanking him for his assistance to the Society. He frequently presided at its Meetings, and has taken a very friendly interest in its proceedings.

FINANCES.

The balance sheet annexed discloses the satisfactory balance of Rs. 4,312.25 to the credit of the Society, at the end of the year.

The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,739.55, while the expenditure was Rs. 2,497.73.

The Council have again to point out that much trouble and expense has been caused by want of punctuality in paying their subscriptions on the part of Members.

The accounts have been audited by Mr. Herbert Tarrant, and the Council offer their thanks to him for the kind trouble he has taken.

5. On a motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. A. Kanagasabai and seconded by Dr. V. D. Goonaratna, the Annual Report was adopted.

6. On the motion of Mr. J. M. Senaveratna, seconded by Mr. R. Chelvadurai, Proctor, the following Office-Bearers were elected for the year:—

President.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., C.C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesekera, Kt., M.L.C.

Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., M.L.C.

Council.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.,
C.C.S.

Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Muda-
liyár.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A.

Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Gate
Mudaliyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.,
L. S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-
Law.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Muda-
liyár.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Treasurer.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, A. N. Galbraith, C.C.S., and
G. A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretaries.

7. Mr. P. E. Pieris, in moving a vote of thanks to the President, said he had much pleasure in doing so, not only for his presiding that night, but also for the interesting Address in which he had reviewed the Society's work for the last ten years, so focussing their attention on the salient features, that they were enabled to gauge the movement of that work. The net result is that the Society is fast developing into an Historical Association, though with the growth of Science and the rise of other Societies in their midst he did not see how exactly that could be avoided.

He was glad that there was some prospect of a Society being organised at last for the Preservation of Antiquities. It had always seemed to him a surprising thing that no such body existed in a country like this. Rightly or wrongly there had so long been a feeling that any unnecessary display of zeal in this direction would not be welcome.

He joined in the President's expression of regret at the reception which a work of the scholarship of Dr. Geiger's *Mahāvamsa* had received in the country. It showed the pitiful apathy into which culture had sunk here as the result of a century of neglect. He hoped the brighter possibilities the President had hinted at would rouse their scholars into greater activity.

He welcomed their new President, who had the advantage of a longer familiarity with the Society which few of his predecessors enjoyed, and he hoped that the vigorous development which marked the tenure of his eminent predecessor would be continued under him.

8. Dr. A. Nell, in seconding the motion, said that Mr. Harward had been their Hon. Secretary for about twenty years. He had, during his travels in the Island, induced other Members to help the Society very much. He was certain that he would make an ideal President.

He was glad that a Society for the protection of antiquities was to be established. An instance had come under his notice at Attanagalla, near Vévāngoda, where some ancient stones were being split up for building purposes. A good deal of that sort of vandalism could be prevented through the intervention of the Society.

He was sure he was voicing the sentiments of the Members present and those unable to be there, when he hoped that the new President would be long spared to the Society.

9. The Chairman returned thanks briefly.

10. The Meeting terminated shortly after 10 p.m.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, April 21, 1913.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesékera, Kt., Vice-President.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.

G. A. Joseph, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on 8th April, 1913.

2. Read a communication from Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., Vice-President, regretting his inability to be in London for the Historical Congress.

3. Read letter from Mr. R. G. Anthonisz regarding the revised Rules.

4. Considered the draft Rules as revised by sub-Committee and carried final revision as far as Rule 30.

5. Provisionally fixed Tuesday, the 29th April, for next Council Meeting, to continue consideration of the revised Rules.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 20, 1913.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesékara, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A.	Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc.
Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.	Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Mudaliyár.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
	Mr. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on 21st April, 1913.

2. Approved the election of the following gentleman as a Member :—

Prof. A. Joseph :	J. Harward.
recommended by	Gerard A. Joseph.

It was decided that an application for Membership from the K. K. Hofbibliothek, Vienna, Austria, be considered later, after the Honorary Secretary ascertains further particulars.

3. Informed the Council that Mr. H. C. P. Bell had kindly offered to read a paper on "The Frescoes at Demala-Mahá-Séya Viháre, Polonnaruwa," illustrated by lantern illustrations.

Proposed by Dr. A. Nell, seconded by G. A. Joseph,—That Mr. Bell be thanked for his offer which the Council accepts with pleasure.

Amendment proposed by Mr. P. E. Pieris, seconded by Mudaliyár R. C. Kailásapillai,—That Mr. Bell be thanked for the offer of his paper and that he be requested to send it in to the Honorary Secretaries to be dealt with in due course.

Amendment proposed by Mr. E. W. Perera, seconded by Dr. J. Pearson,—That the matter do finally stand over till the Rules are passed.

The original motion and amendments were finally withdrawn and the following motion was proposed by Mr. E. W. Perera, seconded by Dr. Pearson.

The Council expresses its genuine obligation to Mr. Bell for his offer, and proposes to reply definitely when the revised Rules have been passed.

The Chairman moved the following amendment which was seconded by Mr. B. Horsburgh.

That Mr. Bell's offer of a Paper on the Demaja-Mahá-Séya Frescoes be accepted with thanks. Three for the motion, five against. Five for the amendment, four against.

The amendment being carried was put to the Meeting as a substantive motion proposed by the Chairman, and seconded by Mr. Horsburgh. The motion was carried; seven voting for it, four against.

4. Read correspondence with the Colombo Apothecaries Company regarding the delay in undertaking the printing of the Society's Journals owing to the difficulty in getting the diacritical type required. In this connection a memo. from Mr. H. C. P. Bell was read pointing out the importance of continuing the use of diacritical type as hitherto employed by the Asiatic Society.

Mr. Joseph stated that since the issuing of the agenda a letter had been received from the Colombo Apothecaries Company stating that some of the type had been received so that "copy" could now be put in type.

5. Read a letter from Mr. F. H. de Vos regarding the translation of the portion of Valentyn's Work relating to Ceylon.

Resolved,—That Mr. de Vos be thanked for his kind offer to translate that part of Valentyn for this Society and that he be informed that the Council will be prepared to print his translation, but regret that the state of the Society's funds will not permit of the payment of any remuneration.

6. Laid on the table a letter from the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary forwarding letter from the Hakluyt Society with regard to the translation and publication of "De Quieroz".

Resolved,—That the Council do undertake to publish the translation in connection with the Journal of the Society, provided the Government pays for the cost of the translation, and in such case, that the British Embassy at Lisbon be asked to recommend a translator.

7. Laid on the table first part of translation by Mrs. J. C. Willis of Prof. Geiger's "Studies of the Máldivian Language".

Resolved,—That Prof. Geiger be asked kindly to permit the Society to publish a translation of his paper on the Máldivian Language in its Journal.

8. The consideration of the revised Rules had to be postponed. Decided to deal with them at the next Meeting to be summoned for 5th June.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 5, 1913.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesékara, Kt., M.L.C.,
Vice-President.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on 20th May, 1913.

2. Resolved,—That the following gentleman be elected a Member :—

Theodore Henry Edward Moonamale : } M. B. Medagama.
recommended by } Frank Modder.

3. Read two letters from Mr. H. C. P. Bell, withdrawing his offer of a Paper on “The Frescoes at the Demala-Máha Séya Viháre, Polonnaruwa,” in view of the want of unanimity by the Council regarding the terms of the offer.

4. Laid on the table a letter from the Society's Clerk asking for an increase of his pay.

Resolved,—That an increase of Rs. 10·00 per mensem be sanctioned from this month.

5. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. Edmund Backhouse (with connected papers) in regard to the translation of Chinese records relating to Ceylon.

Resolved,—That Mr. Backhouse be requested to supply specimens of translated material of not less than 10,000 words for £15.0.0, bearing upon the mission of Cheng Ho to Ceylon, and that any extracts from the works mentioned by Mr. Giles, in the early part of his letter, shall not be included for the present.

Resolved further,—That enquiry be made from Prof. Lionel Giles of the British Museum. as to the approximate length of the passages to which he refers in his letter, and that he be requested to give names in Roman characters.

6. Considered and finally passed the revised Rules from Rule 31 to Rule 48.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 28, 1913.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. T. Cartwright.	Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.L.S.,
Mr. B. C. Cooray, Mohandiram.	&c.
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A.	Dr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe, A.M., I.M.E.	Dr. E. Roberts, M.R.C.S., &c.
Prof. A. F. Joseph.	Mr. J. E. Rode.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.	Dr. D. Schokman.
Mr. Donald Obeyesékara, M.A.,	Mr. J. M. Senaveratna.
LL.B.	Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Visitors: Two ladies, eight gentlemen.

Business.

1. In the absence of Mr. G. A. Joseph, Dr. A. Nell acted as Hony. Secretary.
2. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on April 19, 1913.
3. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.
4. Laid on the table books received since the last General Meeting.
5. Laid on the table illustrations of ancient bronzes to appear in the Colombo Museum Monographs.
6. Laid on the table photographs of Dutch Governors of Ceylon taken from copies at Queen's House, Colombo.
7. Mr. W. A. de Silva read his Paper:—

THE MEDICAL LITERATURE OF THE SINHALESE.BY W. A. DE SILVA, J.P.

The Sinhalese from remote times had cultivated a literature of their own Religion and Science.

Medical science had received special attention and the art of healing was held in very high repute. Páli and Sanskrit were the learned languages of the country. Religious literature was mostly written in Páli and scientific works in the Sanskrit language.

In regard to medical science the Sinhalese largely availed themselves of the very comprehensive medical literature current in India. They however did not depend entirely on Indian works but from time to time enriched the literature with much original matter by productions of local authors. Many of the works written in the Island must have disappeared in the general destruction of valuable libraries. Works on religious subjects have been preserved from this general destruction as a sacred duty by the monks, who amidst the varying fortunes of the nation guarded these treasures with jealous care. Works on science and kindred subjects naturally suffered most. We have still a few important original works on medical science left to us. The more important and typical of these will now receive consideration. These can be divided under three classes:—Works written in Sanskrit and Páli; Sinhalese works; and collections of recipes.

Before proceeding to discuss the medical works composed in Ceylon it is of interest to consider the nature and scope of the principal Indian medical works that have been adapted by the Sinhalese student of medicine, for Sinhalese medical practice is practically similar to the Hindu practice of medicine.

From earliest times up to about 800 B.C. the system of medicine in vogue was pure Vedic as contained in the *Rig Véda* and the *Athurva Véda*, but from 800 B.C. to 1000 A.C. it attained a definite character. Most of the standard Sanskrit works of medicine belong to this period.

Atreya, one of the earliest physicians mentioned in Indian works and whose writings have been partly placed in book form by Caraka, lived about the 6th century B.C. and is said by tradition to have been the chief physician attached to one of the seats of learning at the time ; either the university of Taxila or the university of Benares which flourished at the time of Buddha.

Susruta the Surgeon lived about the 5th century B.C. at Benares.

Caraka is believed to have been according to tradition the physician to King Kaniska who lived about the 1st or 2nd century A.C. Vagbata is mentioned by Itsing, the Chinese pilgrim, as living during his time about the 7th century A.C. and to have composed a very comprehensive treatise on medicine. Mádhava and Vagbhaṭṭa II. wrote between the 7th and 11th centuries.

Sárārtha Saṅgrahāva

Is a work in Sanskrit. According to the Mahāwaṇsa it was composed in the 5th century A.C. by King Buddhadāsa who reigned at Anurádhapura.

King Buddhadāsa was a great patron of medicine. He himself was an eminent physician and surgeon and the author of Mahāwaṇsa eulogizes him for the services he rendered to humanity by his devotion to medical science. The *Sárārtha Saṅgrahāva* follows the lines of many of the well known Indian Sanskrit works but contains much original information. In this work detailed instructions are given in regard to the preparation of drugs and diagnosis and treatment of disease. Descriptions are given of surgical instruments and various surgical operations. Diagrams representing the human body

and the bodies of such mammals, as the elephant and horse, and birds, as fowls and peacocks, are given with directions as to the various points that should not be touched in surgical operations.

The book also gives incantations and charms for use in curing disease and for charming certain medicines. In common with many Indian authors the work describes thirty divisions of preliminary knowledge that should be studied by physicians. These include :—

I.—Text.

1 දුතලක්ෂණ, 2 නෛමිත්ත, 3 මග, 4 ක්ෂිප්ත, 5 අරික්ඛක, 6 අරුණ, 7 විපරිතක්ඛ, 8 භිෂග්, 9 හෙසභජ, 10 මාතුර, 11 පරිවාරක, 12 කම්පන්ති, 13 විකම් ප්‍රකාති, 14 ස්නානක, 15 දේශ, 16 කාල, 17 වයෝ, 18 දේහ, 19 සති, 20 සාත්වික ලක්ෂණම්, 21 රස, 22 දේශ ක්ෂාත්‍රික, 23 සම්දේශ සම්දේහවම්, 24 තෘප්තියදේශ සමන, 25 ත්‍රිවිධ-විකල්ප ලක්ෂණම්, 26 අමා, 27 ගිණිබලන, 28 දුහ, 29 නිදුහ, 30 පුරිකේතව

ත්‍රි-සද්ධන්තාත්මනග් දාස්වධා කම්කේශජා මාවරන්

**Translation.*

1. Prognosis from the appearance of messengers.
2. " " " omens.
3. " " " patients.
4. " " " dreams.
5. " " " abnormal signs.
6. " " " recovery.
7. Conditions favourable to the recovery of patients.
8. Conditions unfavourable to the recovery of patients.
9. Qualifications of a successful physician.
10. Qualities of good drugs.
11. Qualities that help a patient in his recovery.
12. Qualification of attendants.
13. Symptoms of disease.
14. Diagnosis of diseases.

* In correcting the Paper for the Journal the writer has adopted the following translations (see remarks of Dr. E. Roberts, *infra*):—

5, Unfavourable signs; 14, Local conditions; 15, Climatic conditions; 16, Seasonal conditions; 20, Favourable symptoms; 28, Etiology; 29, Pathology; 30. Predisposing causes. *Ed. Sec.*

15. Local conditions.
16. Climatic conditions.
17. Age of patients in relation to disease.
18. Physical appearance of patients in relation to health and disease.
19. Various phases of energy.
20. Condition and nature of diet.
21. Various forms of taste.
22. Elements or humours.
23. Causes exciting elements or humours.
24. Causes counteracting the condition of humours.
25. Three forms of signs of disease.
26. Four origins of disease due to faulty assimilation.
27. Four forms of heat.
28. Origin of the causes of disease.
29. Diagnosis.
30. Premonitory symptoms of disease.

The main work is divided into the following forty-eight sections :—

II.—Text.

- 1 ද්‍රව්‍යාගණ විකිත්තාව, 2 අනන්‍යතා, 3 ප්‍රතිසන්ධි, 4 කුමාර,
- 5 සිරෝරෝග, 6 අක්ෂරෝග, 7 කණ්ණරෝග, 8 ප්‍රාණරෝග, 9 මුඛරෝග,
- 10 ප්‍රවර, 11 අතිසාර, 12 රක්තපිත්ත, 13 ක්ෂයරෝග, 14 උත්තාද
- අපජමාර, 15 තික්තා ක්‍රොම, 16 පංචකාශ, 17 කිරිහෙද,
- 18 පරිදර්ශ, 19 හෘදරෝග, 20 අමනිනි මාංශ, 21 කුෂ්ඨ, 22 ගුල්ම,
- 23 උදර, 24 ප්‍රමෙන, 25 මුත්‍රාශාත, 26 මුත්‍රාසමරි, 27 උපදංශ,
- 28 වාචරෝග, 29 කහන්දර, 30 මුලවිකසි, 31 වාතවිකසි,
- 32 පාංශුරෝග, 33 ශෝනිත, 34 ශොච, 35 ස්ලිපද, 36 විසර්ප,
- 37 ක්ෂුද්‍රවිකසි, 38 වූණ, 39 භික්ෂ, 40 ක්‍රොමරෝග, 41 සාමාන්‍යවිකි,
- 42 පක්කුකුච්ඡි, 43 කෙටිවිකි, 44 ගුලවිකි, 45 විෂවිකි,
- 46 ප්‍රතිවිෂවිකි, 47 රසායන, 48 වාජිකරණවිකි.

**Translation.*

1. Pharmacy, materia medica and therapeutics.
2. Articles of diet and their properties.
3. Pregnancy and diseases.

* In correcting the Paper for the Journal the writer has adopted the following :—11, Diarrhoea and Dysentery; 13, Consumption; 17, Hoarseness and aphonia; 18, Vomiting and nausea; 22, A kind of tumour of the chest and abdominal cavities; 23, Abdominal dropsy; 24, Abnormal urine; 26, Urinary calculi; 29, Fistula (urinary and anal); 31, Nervous disease; 32, Anaemia; 34, Oedema and inflammation; 35, Elephantiasis; 47, Tonics. *Ed Sec.*

4. Children's diseases.
5. Diseases of the head.
6. Diseases of the eyes.
7. Diseases of the ears.
8. Diseases of the nose.
9. Diseases of the mouth.
10. Fevers.
11. Diarrhœa.
12. Hæmorrhages.
13. Disease of the lungs.
14. Insanity and epilepsy.
15. Hiccough.
16. Five kinds of cough.
17. Diseases of the throat.
18. Diseases of the larynx.
19. Diseases of the heart.
20. Stomach and liver disease.
21. Skin disease.
22. Worms.
23. Abdominal disease.
24. Organic disease.
25. Urine excess.
26. Restriction of urine.
27. Venereal diseases.
28. Diseases of scrotum.
29. Syphilis.
30. Piles.
31. Paralysis.
32. Jaundice.
33. Rheumatism, chronic.
34. Dropsy.
35. Tympanitis.
36. Boils.
37. Minor ailments.
38. Ulcers.
39. Fractures.
40. Diseases of women.
41. General.
42. Five (Medical processes) : Purgatives, emetics, nasnas (errhines), enemata of decoctions, enemata of oils.
43. Fomentations.
44. Surgery.
45. Poisons.
46. Antidotes.
47. Preparation of mineral drugs.
48. Restoratives.

Each of these subjects is treated in detail. The preparation of drugs as well as the preparation of various articles of diet receive special attention. Diseases are carefully described, diagnosis and prognosis are indicated in each case and are followed by a large number of recipes for the treatment of a disease in its various stages.

Bhesajja Mañjusá

Is a work written in Páli. Its author's name is given as the Principal of the Five Colleges and he was a learned Buddhist Monk. He lived during the reign of King Kalikála Sarvagña Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu of Dambadeniya in the 13th century A.C. The king was a patron of learning and the important work, the Singhalese version of the *Visuddhi Marga*, and a number of poetical and other works of merit were composed by him. The *Bhesajja Mañjusá*, according to the author's own statement, was composed for the use of the Buddhist Monks. Copies of this work are current in all Buddhist countries including Cambodia, Siam and Burmah, and versions of the work with translations into the vernaculars are found in these countries. The author has drawn upon for his materials a good deal of information from standard Sanskrit Indian medical works current at that period. Charms and incantations are excluded from its scope as well as sections dealing with diseases of women and children. There is much original matter. A translation of this work made by Saranaṅkara Saṅgharāja who lived in the seventeenth century A.C. during the reign of King Naréndra Siṅha is in existence.

Saranaṅkara Saṅgharāja was a scholar through whose activities at this period Buddhism and learning in the Island received an impetus. He was instrumental in re-establishing the order of Monks at a period when literary and religious activities in the Island had sunk very low. He was also the author of many compilations of great literary value, such as the translation of *Mahābodhi Waṇsa*, *Satara Banawara Sanne* and *Sárārtha Saṅgraha* (the religious work).

Bhesajja Mañjusá is divided into the following 60 sections :

Text.

සත්ත්වසත්ත්වකමො වායො සුබබොධාය වුවුවනෙ
උපකුසුමවිති දුබ්බා රසාදිතං විභාවන

පසන්ධරණමිභාවි ආබාධපරි සෙධනං
අන්තර්ගතරුසානි ද්වද්විධනි රුපනං

විසාහාරෝ පරිවිසං ආමනෙද නිදේශනං
නානාගණ ගුණද්දෙසො මහාකම්ම විවාරණං

මූලකම්මවිධානඤ්ච දුකතසුගමනසුව
සුපිනෙසුව උප්පානෙ ආරගෙසුව අර්ථිඨතා
විකාරසාමකුසුමිති නිදනසතිනොපරෙ

අබ්මාසර හෙදෙව අරුචිතදසාමයො
පිපාසාපද්දිකසනං සසන්ධිම මාමයො

සබ්බිබ්බිකා නිසාරෙ ගහනිවසුනාමකං
හගන්දරෙපමෙහොව සසොමො පිලකායුතො

මුත්තාසානො සමරිසුත්තො පදංසොමුසබ්බවධනං
රත්තපිත්තං සිතපිත්ත මාච්චපිත්තොති සංයුතං

ගුම්මෙසුල මුදුවත්තො නානාසුලෙති සංයුතො
උදරංසාමාබ්බකුමිතො කාමිලාපණ්ඩු සමායුතා

සොපොච්ඡිධි පිසප්පො කුර්ඨං කිම්වලාමයො
සමිරරත්තංව විසුං වක්ඛසොතා මයොනරා

සාණ නනසිරෙවතධි සොපමිපිපද්දිකං
මසුරිකාදි හෙදෙව වණගණ විකිච්චිතං

සාපසාරං සමමිමාදං අක්ඛභුත නිසජ්ජිතං
නානාවිසප්පතිකාරෙ කප්පනත්තං රසාදනං
ඉතිසත්ත්වං වගච්ඡ සම්මිප්පති සංගහා

Translation.

1. Exciting causes of disease.
2. Properties of medicines.
3. Rules of health.
4. Origin of disease.
5. Diet.
6. Prepared food.
7. Medicinal materials.
8. Poisonous foods.
9. Poisons.
10. Diseases of digestion.
11. Combination of drugs.
12. Properties of combined drugs.
13. Purgatives and emetics.

14. Vapours.
15. Prognostication by signs of messengers.
16. Prognostication by journeys.
17. Prognostication by dreams.
18. Congenital signs.
19. Unfavourable signs of disease.
20. Chronic fevers.
21. Chronic diseases of the lungs.
22. Diseases of the vocal chords.
23. Nausea and anorexia.
24. Diseases of the heart.
25. Thirst.
26. Vomiting.
27. Cough.
28. Asthma,
29. Hiccough.
30. Dysentery and diarrhœa.
31. Chronic dysentery.
32. Wasting.
33. Fistula.
34. Carbuncles.
35. Diseases of the bladder (stone).
36. Diseases of the genital organs.
37. Mouth disease.
38. Diseases of the liver.
39. Dropsy.
40. Anasarca.
41. Ascites.
42. Jaundice.
43. Anæmia.
44. Debility.
45. Boils.
46. Skin disease.
47. Worms.
48. Paralysis.
49. Rheumatism.
50. Diseases of the eye.
51. Diseases of the ear.
52. Diseases of the nose.
53. Diseases of the head (brain).
54. Elephantiasis.
55. Infectious diseases as small-pox.
56. Wounds and fractures.
57. Epilepsy.
58. Poison.
59. Treatment by fruits.
60. Treatment by the use of tonics.

The chapters on diet and the properties of medicinal materials in the *Bhesajja Maṇḍusā* are very carefully compiled and go into the various details of their preparation as well as their action in health and disease.

The symptoms of disease are described in detail and a large number of recipes are given for the treatment of each group of disease.

Yógārnavaṃsā.

Yógārnavaṃsā appears to be a compilation from the *Sārārtha Saṅgraha*, an abridged edition as it were with a translation of its more important Sanskrit verses into Sinhalese. This work, according to the introduction, was compiled by the Principal of Mayurapāda Piriveṇa, during the reign of Śrī Saṅgabó, Śrī Bhuvanēka Báhu in the year 1818 after the attainment of knowledge of Buddha Gautama.

“අප මහ ගෞතම තථාගතයන්ගේ ප්‍රථම බොධියේ පටන් එක් වාදයක් අවසාන අවලෝක අවුරුද්දක් ඉක්මවා—අපව—ශ්‍රී ලංකා අද පොත්පත්ති විජේඥාදි නරේඤ්ඤ ඵලසාධක ඵලසාධක හුගේ අතික්‍රමණයෙහි අප ශ්‍රී සහබෝ, ශ්‍රී බ්‍රහ්මකර්මානු නරේඤ්ඤයන් ලංකා විජයකොට අතිශේක මංගල්‍යයෙන් විජ්‍යමිති කළහි, ඔහු මගෙමිම ප්‍රත්‍යාපන ප්‍රතික්‍රමකව්‍යානවනාශි පවිත්‍රයෙහි විරඤ්ඤාන කාලයක්වැර සම්මානසෙව් කරණලද තථාගත ප්‍රාචීනා ඇති මසුරපාද පිරිවෙනාදීපති තථාගත සුත්‍රවූසි විර තේ විසින්”

Yógaratnākaraya.

Yógaratnākaraya is a work in verse and is practically a Sinhalese version of *Yógārnavaṃsā*. It lays no claim to originality as the introductory verses give the dates and names of the author of *Yógārnavaṃsā*.

“මෙත භුද්‍රුතෙන් නිත	ර
සතහට පැ නිවන් පු	ර
පැමිනි රජ මනස	ර
පවර බ්‍රවිතේකර්මානු නරව	ර
සතහට වැඩ නි	සා
යොරුවනාර වෙසෙ	සා
මතු පවතින ල	සා
අසවි විශ්‍රුති සිතින් විම	සා

මොදර ගම් මග නෙ	ර
පැවති පටුනෙක ගරු න	ර
මතු නිවන් සෙත් පු	ර
ලබන ලෙස කි මෙකම් පදක	ර

The final verse in the *Yógaratnākaraṇya* gives the date of its composition in its present form as 1587 Śaka Era (1665 A.C.) and the name of the author is given as the Poet Vidu (medical poet).

සක පසින් එක් දහස් පන්සිය සත අසුවක් අවුරු	ද
වක පසින් මස බිනර පුර ගුරු දිනසෙ එත්සාරික සෙ	ද
එක එකින් අට සාලිසක් තිදි විකින්සාගෙන නිවර	ද
නෙකදෙසුං හැර මෙපොත ලිවු සහ මොක් පතා කවුර වී	ද

Vidyacintāmani Bhesajja Saṅgraha.

This is a compilation which gives a fairly complete *resumé* of the various forms of medical practice. It is written in Sinhalese with copious quotations from standard Sanskrit medical works. The book deals very exhaustively on the treatment of various forms of disease and gives a large number of special recipes. It also gives directions as to the preparation of various forms of medical compounds. In addition a section of the book is devoted to the treatment of disease by charms and offerings.

Vidyacintāmani must have been composed in the 15th century A.C. during the time that *Jayawardhanapura* (Kótté) was the capital of the Island. An introductory passage in the book gives the name of the compiler as well as his teacher's name and the author states that the work is a translation from the Tamil. "I Selasingha who as taught by the most learned Pandit Sandrasékara who learned his science, poetry, law, logic and grammar from the great Pandit Sinhabhaṭṭa who is descended from the Brahmin Pandit Rámachandra Vidyaratna who came to *Jayawardhanapura* in this illustrious Island of Laṅká from the country of Soli (Tanjore) in India at a time when ayurvedic science existed there in its purity, on the paternal side, and from Rájaguru Kovichandra Brahmin Pandit who was a pupil of the school of the Royal

Oculist Vydyámurthábhíráma on the maternal side, have compiled in Sinhalese this work *Vidyacintámani Bhesajja Saṅgraha* which existed in the Dravida (Tamil) language."

There is evidence in this work of the introduction of new drugs and new forms of treatment derived from Dravidian sources. Hitherto the standard works on medicine followed the orthodox lines of the Sanskrit works. This was a period in the history of the Island when its literature and institutions were greatly effected by the introduction of the culture of South India.

Varayóga Sáraya

Is a Sinhalese work in prose which generally follows the lines of the Sanskrit work *Sárārtha Saṅgraha*. It has been evidently compiled for the use of those who did not possess a knowledge of Sanskrit. The book is written in an easy and free style but contains divisions of chapters similar to the Sanskrit work. It is however not a mere translation as it contains matter gleaned from other sources as well. The book commences with an introductory verse. This has a striking resemblance to the introductory verse in the *Sárārtha Saṅgraha* and in indicating the thirty preliminary divisions of the science the *Varayóga Sáraya* copies the identical verses of the *Sárārtha Saṅgraha*. The name of the author and the date of the compilation are unknown.

නන්වා මුනිතු වරණං ති හමික රෙඨි.
සත්තෙති වුත්ත විවිධං වරතත්ත සත්තථි
අත්ථි.තිසක්කසලෙති සමුඛ ඊත්වා
වක්ඛාමි සංගමමිං ජන සංග භත්ථි.

Varayóga Sáraya though a comprehensive one is less scholarly in style and arrangement than any of the works noticed above.

There are a very large number of books of recipes in existence. Many of these deal with some special branch of medicine and are written in verse. There is a special work treating of the preparation of medicinal oils: *Snēha Satakaya*

One hundred oils. A translation of the work by the late Dr. Peiris is published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon.*

There is another work giving instructions for the preparation of nearly one hundred and fifty kinds of pills used in the treatment of diseases. The use of oils and pills does not belong to the regular routine practice of a Sinhalese Physician, but they are considered as very useful and important aids in the treatment of acute diseases, when an immediate effect is desired. Every physician of any pretension keeps a fairly large stock of these preparations for use in his practice. Some of these are very active in their effect and are used sometimes with great success in arresting the progress of very serious ailments.

The recipe books include special ones for diseases of the eye, fractures, hydrophobia, poison, serpent bites, fevers and various other ailments.

The following books mentioned in the paper are printed and published in Colombo.

Sārārtha Saṅgraha, Parts I. and II., edited by P. C. Guṇasékara, pp. 150 (incomplete).

Bhesajja Maṇḍusā, Parts I. and II., edited by M. Dharmaratna, pp. 168 (incomplete).

Yōgaratnākara, Part I., edited by J. S. Rāja Sundara, pp. 113 (incomplete).

Vidyacintāmani Bhesajja Saṅgraha, edited by B. Jayasiṅha, pp. 561 (complete).

8. Dr. A. Nell read the following Note by E. R. Gooneratne, Gate Mudaliyār.

The recipe books referred to in this interesting Paper are very valuable, as the recipes are classified and embodied in books after they have undergone severe practical tests; and these books have been considered as important additions to Sinhalese medical literature.

There was in former times a set of laymen uneducated in Sinhalese medicine who carried on a successful practice entirely by the aid of these recipe books. They were styled Waṭṭoru Vedarālas (Recipe Doctors) and I knew one or two who were very popular.

I have in my possession a number of these recipe books, which I have collected from time to time, and which have been in our family.

* Vol. IV., No. 13, p. 164.

It would throw a flood of light on Sinhalese medicine, charms and incantations, if a compilation could be made from these MSS. and printed.

E. R. GOONERATNE.

9. Dr. Nell also read the following Note by Dr. J. Attygalle, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c.

The Paper entitled "Sinhalese Medical Literature," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, is an interesting one, but I note an important omission in the list of books given by him among those composed in Ceylon. I refer to *Bhesajju Nidāne*, a very large and comprehensive work on native medicine compiled by Don Simon Tillekeratne, Mudaliyār of Matara, about 1760 or a little later.

It consists of over 400 *ola* leaves of full size and gives a description of all the diseases known to native medical men and their treatment, including such special subjects as diseases of the ear, nose and eye, with a chapter on diseases of women and children. It is similar in its arrangement of subjects to *Vaidya Chintamani Saṅgraha* of Selasinhe mentioned by Mr. Silva. It is written partly in Sanskrit *slokas*, which are more or less quotations from old Sanskrit books on native medicine with *sannas* or translations added after each by the author. There is not much original matter in this book; which is the case with all the works on native medicine written since *Charake* and *Susrutta*, the two oldest works on medicine and surgery extant in the East. The reason for this was that these were looked upon by all subsequent writers as inspired of the gods and they would neither add to them nor alter them nor propound new theories of diseases nor lay down any new methods of treating them save perhaps the inclusion of a few drugs, like opium, in their prescriptions, the use of which they had come to know through the Arabian Physicians, who followed in the wake of the Muhammadan invaders of India.

This *Bhesajju Nidāne* of Tillekeratne Mudaliyār is a valuable compendium of native medical practice and the only work in which I have found a description of *Parangi*: he has mentioned eight forms or varieties. This disease was not known to the native medical men before the 15th century. This book would seem to have never got into general use among medical men. Its existence is only known to a very few outside the family of the author and it would be well for the Reform Society, which is making laudable attempts to resuscitate the practice of native medicine, to place it within the reach of native medical men in general.

I do not think that the date 1665 A.D., given by Mr. Silva as the year of the composition of *Yōgaratnākara* is correct. In the copy in my possession, it opens with the two following verses:—

මෙත් කුර්තෙත් නිත	ර
සත්තව පාද සෙත් දු	ර
පෑමිති රජ මනඟ	ර
පවර බුමනෙකබාහු නරව	ර
මෙරජුව සොලොස් ව	ස
මතු හවුරුදු මෙසක් ම	ස
සියබසිති යුතුර	ස
මෙකති කියනෙමි අසති කරනෙ.	ස

From the above verses it is obvious that the composition of this book was commenced in the 16th year of the reign of a king by the name of Bhuvanēka Báhu and completed in the month of *Vesak* six years afterwards. There was no king of that name reigning in any part of Ceylon in 1665 A.D. The king then reigning in Ceylon was Rāja Singha II. and there was no king of the name of Bhuvanēka Báhu for a century previous. Perhaps Mr. Silva is confusing *Yógárnava* or some other work with it.

JNO. ATTYGALLE, M.D.

10. On the invitation of the Chairman to any Member or visitor to offer remarks on the Paper, Dr. E. Roberts said: that they were grateful to Mr. de Silva for his interesting Paper on the literature of Sinhalese medicine in which a great many of the native inhabitants of the Island are interested at the present day. Sinhalese medicine is nothing more than the medical system of Northern India. The "*Ayurveda*" or "Science of Life" which was introduced into the Island by the Áryan Physicians of Northern India. The Sinhalese medical works referred to in the Paper are not original works, but mere compendiums compiled from the works of *Susruta*, *Charaka* and others. The Sinhalese medical men have added nothing new, nothing original. They believed that the Rishis were men who possessed divine wisdom, and that it was therefore not possible to improve upon what they had said and written.

Mr. de Silva's interpretations of some of the medical terms are not, I think, quite correct.

In Text I. No. 5. "*Arishtakam*" should be "unfavourable signs," not "abnormal signs."

No. 20. "*Sátmika Laksanam*" should be "favourable signs."

No. 29. "*Nidānan*" should be "Etiology," not "Diagnosis."

No. 30. "*Púrvahetucha*" should be "predisposing causes," not "premonitory symptoms" of disease.

In Text II. No. 11. "*Atisára*" should be "diarrhœa and dysentery," not "diarrhœa" alone.

The word for dysentery is *Rakta-Atisára*.

No. 13. "*Kshayarôga*" should be "Tuberculosis," not "disease of the lungs."

No. 17. "*Svara bheda*" should be "hoarseness and aphonia," not "disease of the throat."

No. 18. "*Chardi Ruchi*" should be "Vomiting and nausea," not "diseases of the larynx."

No. 22. "*Gulma*" is not "worms," but a kind of "tumour of the chest and abdomen." The word for worms is "*Krimi*."

No. 23. "*Udara*" is not "abdominal disease," but "abdominal dropsy."

No. 24. "*Prameha*" is not "organic disease," but "abnormal urine."

- No. 26. "*Mutrasmari*" is not "restriction of urine," but "urinary calculi."
 No. 29. "*Bhagandara*" is not "syphilis," but "fistula."
 No. 31. "*Vāta Vyādhi*" is not "paralysis," but "nervous disease."
 No. 32. "*Pāndurōga*" should be "anæmia," not "jaundice."
 No. 34. "*Śopha*" should be "œdema" and "inflammation," not "dropsy."
 No. 35. "*Ślipada*" is not "tympanitis," but "elephantiasis" or "Barbadoes leg."
 No. 47. "*Rasāyana*" should be "tonics," and not "preparation of mineral drugs."

We should be very careful in translating these terms, for otherwise the system is likely to get into disrepute. It is already in disrepute, and some people who know nothing about the science look upon it as quackery.

It is on the contrary a national system, and if properly worked will do a great deal of good to the people.

Despite the great advances of the Western medical system, and despite the presence of a large number of qualified men in the Island, the native medical men still command the bulk of the practice.

Except in operative surgery, midwifery and in the diagnosis and treatment of obscure diseases of the brain, chest and abdomen, the native medical men are as successful as the graduates of the Western school.

The system should, in my opinion, be encouraged.

12. Mr. DE SILVA replied to the two notes and Dr. Roberts' comments briefly.

He wished to suggest that Mudaliyār E. R. Gooneratne be asked to gift to the Royal Asiatic Society those *ola* books in his possession, which he had referred to in his Note. They would be very helpful and extremely interesting to the student of this subject.

With regard to the Note by Dr. Attygalle he regretted that the doctor had not read his Paper carefully, for he had taken some trouble in pointing out that *Yōgaratnākaraya* is a translation of *Yōgārnavaya* and the date and the name of author given in the introductory verses in *Yōgaratnākaraya* have reference to the original from which it was translated.

13. The CHAIRMAN said,—that the subject of Mr. Silva's Paper was one on which he could not lay down the law, but there were points in the Paper of considerable interest which should be mentioned.

There was a very interesting Paper, dealing with what was somewhat a similar subject, which appeared in the Society's Journal of 1886,* by Dr. Vanderstraaten, on the History of Medical Practice in Ceylon, on slightly different lines from Dr. de Silva's Paper which was on Sinhalese Medical Literature.

* Vol. IX, No. 32, p. 306.

Unquestionably in the early part of Dr. Vanderstraaten's Paper there was some reference to the grounds which Mr. de Silva had covered.

The early history of medicine was of very great interest both in the East and the West; and it would be curious to know whether the dates given by Mr. de Silva were correct. It must be remembered that Indian dates were doubtful, as there was nothing like an Indian history of the early ages. Susruta might have been a very approximate contemporary of the great Greek Physician Hippocrates, and Charaka, an approximate contemporary of Galen. There were no complete works of Susruta and Charaka, as there were no complete works of Hippocrates and Galen. He thought it was highly probable that Susruta and Charaka lived in an extremely enlightened although not a scientific age. Hippocrates was a man who was decidedly advanced for his age, as his contributions, which were of very great value, showed. Both in the East and West the history of medicine was followed on somewhat a similar track, namely, the early enlightened age was followed by a protracted age of somewhat blind adherence. Touching on the early masters they had just been told that the progress in the East was hampered by the fact that Susruta and Charaka were regarded as divine teachers and Hippocrates and Galen in the West were followed by equally blind adherence.

The history of medicine in the East and especially in Ceylon was extremely interesting because India and Ceylon led the way in the establishment of hospitals and a medical department under Government. No one who had read Greek would fail to find accounts of the organisations in Northern India during the time of the Greek Kings, the Government at the time being of a highly organised nature. There was a time when there were public Departments of Medicine and Sanitation, and hospitals specially associated with the name of Aśoka.

It was interesting to notice inscriptions in which Aśoka mentions his hospitals, and special mention of establishments in not only his dominions but in parts occupied by the faithful as far as Tambapanni or Ceylon. It did not mean that he established them himself in Ceylon; but there was no doubt that missionaries and other representatives whom he sent to Ceylon not only conveyed the doctrines of the Buddhist religion but everything that could be conveyed. Not very long afterwards Duṭṭugāmaṇi maintained eighteen hospitals, it was stated, in different spots and provided a table diet and medicine. The very modest number eighteen carried with it conviction that it was in the region of facts. The Paper that had been read told them of the medical work of King Buddhadaśa and those who turned to the *Mahāvamsa* would find that he also was very much connected with the actual practice of medicine, though there was some little difficulty in disentangling fancy from fact in the account of the cures which he wrought. Certainly in Ceylon, the practice of medicine was one consistent with the highest place in the land, not only

during Buddhadása's time but also during the reign of Parákrama Báhu the Great, who was an active attendant in the hospitals.

Mr. de Silva had touched rather on the outskirts of a very interesting subject and he hoped that at some future time he would perhaps develop in detail and contribute more particulars really valuable to the literature to which he had referred to in his Paper.

14. Mr. E. W. PERERA proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. de Silva for his interesting Paper and expressed the hope that he would contribute a further instalment on the subject he had already touched on as it was capable of much development.

15. Dr. D. SCHOKMAN seconded.

16. With a vote of thanks to the chair proposed by Dr. Roberts and seconded by Prof. A. F. Joseph the Meeting terminated.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 18, 1913.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda- liyar.	Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.L.S.
Mr. C. Hartley, M. A.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Gate Mudaliyar.	Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Muda- liyar.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.	Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Hony. Secretary.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on 5th June, 1913.

2. Resolved,—That the following be elected Members of the Society:—

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| (1) M. D. Sirinivásatissa Sthavira,
Buddhist Priest: recommend-
ed by | } W. N. S. Aserappa.
J. Samaradivakara. |
| (2) Kumára Bandára Benjamin
Ralapanáme: recommended
by | |
| (3) Śrī Dhammadinna Wágiswará-
chariya Dharmaratana, Bu-
ddhist High Priest: recom-
mended by | } M. Nánissara, High
Priest.
Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (4) Charles K. Moser, American
Consul: recommended by | |
| | } J. Pearson.
A. H. Pertwee. |

3. Read letter from the President of the Executive Committee of the 12th International Geographical Congress inviting the Ceylon Asiatic Society to be represented by a Delegate at the Congress.

Decided that as the previous communication mentioned in the letter had not arrived in time it was not possible to appoint a Delegate.

4. Read and laid on table letters from Prof. A. H. Giles of Cambridge, from the Secretary of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and from Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum.

Resolved,—That Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum be asked to give a translation of

- (1) *Ta Ching I Tung Chih*: 500 characters.
- (2) *Ming Shik*: 800 characters.

5. Read letters from the Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft and from Prof. W. Geiger of Erlangen University consenting to the Society publishing a translation of the latter's article on the Máldivian Language in the Journal.

6. Read letter from the Illinois State Academy of Science on the question of Calendar Reform.

Decided to reply that the Council considered the matter to be outside the scope of the Society's work.

7. Read letter from the Colonial Secretary regarding the publication of the manuscript entitled "Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon." (De Queiroz.)

The Council agreed with the recommendation of the Hakluyt Society that the Portuguese Text should be published by the Ceylon Government, but desired to lay stress on the importance of publishing a translation of the work as well.

8. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "The 19th (Yorkshire) Regiment and its connection with Ceylon," by Mr. C. Reith.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to the President and Mr. H. W. Codrington for their opinions.

9. Laid on the table Parts II. and III. of Mrs. J. C. Willis' translation of Prof. Geiger's Paper on the Máldivian Language.

10. Read letter from the Colonial Secretary regarding an inscription to be put up in the Gordon Gardens selected as the site of the stone bearing on it the Royal Arms of Portugal and date discovered near the Old Breakwater Office.

Resolved,—That the following be the Inscription:—

"This rock has been removed from its original site opposite the ancient Portuguese Church of St. Lourenço, which stood near the present Battenburg Battery. It is believed to be the *padrao* erected as a record by the first Portuguese visitors to the Island."

It was decided to draw attention to the Inscription to be put up at the spot where the stone originally stood.

11. Read letter from the American Geographical Society of New York and sanctioned an exchange of publications.

12. Decided that the consideration of the revised Rules and Regulations be again postponed and that a meeting be called for Friday, the 25th July, for this purpose.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 25, 1913.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.	
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.	Mr. Simon de Silva,
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A.	Gate Mudaliyár.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.	Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.	

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on 18th July, 1913.

2. Finally considered and revised Rules and Regulations.

3. The President explained that it is proposed to appeal to the public in a letter soliciting subscriptions towards a combined Lecture Hall and Art Gallery, and he had been asked as President of the C.B.R.A.S. to sign the letter together with the President of the Ceylon Natural History Society, President of the Ceylon Art Society, and the Director of the Colombo Museum.

Resolved,—That the Council records its approval of a scheme to build a combined Lecture Hall and Art Gallery, and authorizes the President to sign the letter to the Public soliciting subscriptions.

4. Laid on the table a Paper on "Coins," by Mr. H. W. Codrington.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. P. E. Pieris and G. A. Joseph.

5. Resolved,—That the following be elected Members of the Society:—

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| (1) James Ernest Reginald Perera, Proctor, S.C., &c.: recommended by | } Edward W. Perera.
Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (2) Suresh Chandra Dutt Gupta, M.A.: recommended by | |
| | } R. A. Rámapiilai.
Gerard A. Joseph. |
| | |

6. Laid on the table Circular No. 348 containing the opinions of the President and Mr. H. W. Codrington on the Paper entitled "The 19th (Yorkshire) Regiment and its connection with Ceylon," by Mr. C. Reith.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted, read at a Meeting, and printed in the Society's Journal.

7. Decided that a General Meeting be held on the 7th August, for the reading of Mr. C. Reith's Paper.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 7, 1913.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Right Revd.	Mr. Gabriel Gunawardana.
Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D.	The Hon'ble
Mr. J. P. Obeyesékara, B.A.	Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S
Mr. B. C. Cooray.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
Ven. F. H. de Winton.	Mr. J. E. Rode.
Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A.	M. D. Sirinivásatissa Sthavira.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, C.C.S., Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors:—Ten gentlemen and six ladies.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed the Minutes of the last General Meeting held on 28th June, 1913.
2. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.
3. Laid on the table books and periodicals received since the last General Meeting.
4. Mr. Charles Reith read the following Paper:—

THE 19th (YORKSHIRE) REGIMENT, AND ITS CONNECTION WITH CEYLON.

BY MR. CHARLES REITH.

The long period of twenty-four years which this famous corps spent in Ceylon is almost a blank page in the history of the regiment. For some unknown reason its existence seems to have been entirely overlooked by the home authorities, with the result that, when it was at last recalled, only two men who had come to the Island in 1796 returned with it in 1820, and so much were people's minds occupied by the upheaval on the Continent of Europe that events in Ceylon, and the trying experiences of the troops stationed there, were allowed to pass unnoticed. At any other time than during the stress and struggle of the Napoleonic wars the story of the Kandyan campaigns might have received the attention it merited, but it is only natural that interest in Ceylon affairs should have been eclipsed by the importance of events in Europe. The consequence is complete ignorance, among popular historians, of a very fascinating chapter of Imperial history. Even the versatile Green, in his popular "Short History", dismisses the subject with the erroneous remark that in 1794 Ceylon and other possessions "had been transferred to the British Crown." The story of early British rule, the foundation of the Island's prosperity, and the strange career of that humble Buonaparte, Pilima Talauwé, have been consistently overlooked and forgotten.

In view of the 19th's brilliant share in after events it is a pity it arrived too late to take part in the conquest of the coast settlements. The regiment arrived in December 1796, a few months after the surrender of Colombo, and thus missed the preliminary struggle with the Dutch. The motives

of British enterprise in the East have often been questioned, but there is little doubt that England was drawn into the conquest of Eastern colonies not so much from thoughts of Empire-building as from the opportunity of harassing enemies with whom she was at war. No one seems to have imagined that British occupation of Ceylon was to extend longer than the great wars with Holland and France, and even after the Peace of Amiens, in 1802, there was a general impression that the Island would be eventually restored to Holland. During the first few years occupation was purely military. Until 1799 the 19th regiment garrisoned Colombo and supplied detachments to the small forts of Negombo, Kalutara, and Mannár. Readers of Percival and Cordiner need no description of the life of the period. Both officers and men seem to have enjoyed their new surroundings, and, as at the present day, the loudest complaint is the cost of living. Their first experience of active service was during the taxation riots of 1800. Two companies of the 19th were sent to the assistance of the Mannár garrison which had been attacked by a mob of Sinhalese in excusable defiance of the East India Company's system of taxation. When the riot was quelled the relieving force carried out a brilliant march across country to Trincomalee, the first occasion on which this part of the country was penetrated. On the same occasion Captain Vincent of the 19th was attacked on his way from Negombo to Colombo, and he was obliged to fight stubbornly until relieved from the Fort. But the hard work which included much suffering and little glory was to come later.

In 1800 five companies of the 19th accompanied General Macdowal on his abortive mission to the King of Kandy. When the astute Adigár Pilima Talauwé realised that his scheme to assassinate his monarch was not to be supported, he guided the embassy into the thickest of jungles and obliged the General to proceed alone to Kandy, with a small escort, while the little army, which was to have restored order in the mountain kingdom, returned ignominiously to

Colombo. War at that time had not been declared, but the troops experienced for the first time the difficulties and dangers of the impenetrable Kandyan country where they were doomed soon after to suffer hardships worthy of a better cause. There is little reference among writers of the period to the experiences of the 19th with the embassy. Mention is made of a private being drowned while bathing, and of another being seized by a crocodile. When the Kandyans visited the camp "they were not a little surprised on Captain Vilant of the 19th regiment sketching off a likeness in a few moments of one of their Chiefs and presenting it to him." A Captain Anderson of the 19th published two volumes of poetry which was written mostly during his stay in the Island, and Percival, the author of "An account of the Island of Ceylon," belonged to the same distinguished corps, so it is evident that the regimental talent was not confined to soldiering!

Pilima Talauwé's request and importunities for interference in Kandyan affairs appear to have been consistently ignored until 1803, when he was at last successful in stirring up strife by secretly seizing the goods of some Colombo traders, and misrepresenting the object of the Governor's demand for their restoration. Both King and people believed the claim to be false, and an excuse for aggression, and war followed in February 1803, which was deplorable, not so much in its object, as in its conduct by the authorities, and for this the highest officials were alone to blame. At the outbreak of war the 19th were stationed at Trincomalee, and five companies joined the expedition which marched from there under Lieut.-Colonel Barbut. Two companies which had remained at Colombo marched with the other division under General Macdowal, and the only fighting which occurred before the two bodies met and occupied the deserted and undefended mountain capital was the storming of Girihá-gama fort by the Colombo companies of the 19th. The history of the 1803 campaign need not be detailed here, nor

the events which led up to the tragic massacre in June, but as some new light has been thrown on the subject by certain extracts from letters written by officers of the 19th and others during the siege of Kandy, their inclusion in this article may be of interest.

Notwithstanding the fact that Pilima Talauwé led an expedition from Kandy into a trap at Hanguranketa, where the extraordinary pluck and endurance of the troops alone averted a catastrophe, Governor North and General Macdowal accepted his assurances of friendship almost immediately after, and, acting on their trust, abandoned to the risks of climate and treachery a garrison which was wholly incapable of the task given it. At the commencement of the rainy season a secret treaty was arranged with Pilima Talauwé by which he agreed not to attack the town in return for the promise that he would eventually be made King of Kandy when hostilities were renewed and the King was captured. On the strength of this agreement with an enemy whose perfidy was obvious even then the General returned to Colombo leaving only three hundred Europeans of the 19th, 700 Malays, and a large number of sick to garrison Kandy. The sequel to his return was a warning which was unheeded. On the first morning at Colombo four hundred men of the 51st regiment which had accompanied him from the hills appeared at parade in apparent health. In a few days almost all were in hospital, and in three months three hundred of them were dead.

It is said that at the beginning of April deaths occurred so frequently in Colombo that the town "wore an aspect of great gloom and melancholy." Yet no one seems to have considered the troops in Kandy, and no attempt was made to establish and secure communications with the mountain capital. The condition of the Kandy garrison can be realised from what follows.

Extract from a letter from an officer of the 19th regiment dated Kandy, 12th April, 1803 :—

“ The men, I am sorry to say, are getting very unhealthy, principally of fevers, and that damned disease, the berry-berry; we have forty-eight now in hospital, and have lost four men since you left us. I am convinced that nothing is so apt to bring on that Plague, the berryberry (for so it has literally proved to the 51st regiment) as low living, and exposure to heavy dews and the night air to which our men of late have been much subject. Tobacco, an article so absolutely essential to them, they cannot get here; but as it is a thing so easily transported it ought certainly to be sent them. The beef has now become wretched and at present no better can be obtained; the want of wine too now begins to be severely felt.”

Extract from another letter from the same officer, dated May 1st, 1803:—

“ Our days in this place pass in a most gloomy manner, and, I am sorry to say, that if they keep us much longer in this hole, you will see very few of these fine fellows, you left behind, return. I have a long list of casualties this month, twenty-six or twenty-eight men since your departure, and more than half our number sick, and indeed in a very bad way. They have everything to fight against, though no man endeavours more to render them comfortable than Col. Barbut: he has written and represented their deplorable state, and if they are not removed, it will not be his fault. Upwards of fifty of the sick went yesterday to Fort Macdowal, from whence, in a day or two, they are to be conveyed to Trincomalee. Not a cooly to be had at Colombo, even were you to give 1,000 pagodas; not even a slaughter bullock, and we have the immense stock of six in this place! imagine therefore the state we are in.”

General Macdowal revisited Kandy towards the end of May, but, falling a victim to fever, he was obliged to return to Colombo almost immediately. The suspicious behaviour of Pilima Talauwé in not visiting him was a further warning of coming disaster.

Extract from a letter from Lieut.———, dated Kandy, 23rd May:—

“ I have not much news to give you, except that our mortality and sickness is every day increasing, such is the melancholy state of our detachment, that out of two hundred and thirty-four men, remaining of those you left behind, there are not above five fit for duty, and even their services are required to attend those who are in the hospital. The number at present in the hospital is one hundred and twelve, mostly fevers, and fifty sick in barracks. The detachment at Fort Macdowal, have only eight men, out of fifty, fit for duty. Yesterday on the arrival of General Macdowal, he ordered the whole of the convalescent sick to get ready to march for Trincomalee; but dreadful to relate, when they came to be mustered, only twenty-three men out of the whole were found that were able to march. The General has written to the Governor, to send up doolies for the sick, to convey them to Colombo, being the nearest place.”

Extract from a letter from Quarter-Master Brown, of His Majesty's 19th Regiment and Paymaster to the Garrison of Kandy, dated 20th May:—

“ The General has been here some days, and has expected, as usual, that the first and second Adigár would have paid him a visit long ago, but for what reason Heaven knows they have not yet made their appearance; the common report of the day is that they are endeavouring to surround their King, in order to take him prisoner; should this prove true, and they succeed, we may perhaps see you again, but I have no faith in them, knowing them to be deceitful intriguing rascals.”

Extract from another letter from the same, dated Kandy, 31st May:—

“ No news of these Adigárs yet, it ever has been and still is my opinion, that they are deceiving our government, whether I am right or wrong time alone can discover. The rains have been very heavy indeed for these three days past,

it has hardly ever ceased a moment, and it is very cold at night. Poor Lieut. Bausset was brought to my house a few days ago, extremely ill with the fever. Capt. Pearce and Dr. Hope are both ill, the latter dangerously so; four of our men died last night, and how we are to get them buried, I know not, for there is scarcely a man able to walk."

Extract from a letter from Lieut. Ormsby, 51st regiment and Commissary of Provisions at Kandy, dated June 10th:—

"This is a most dreary place, and our communication has lately been cut off owing to the heavy rains. There is not a man in the 19th regiment able to do duty, and they are now losing them very fast; and to mend the matters, Dr. Hope is very ill, of course the whole business falls on Dr. Holloway who has not a moment to himself. There are three or four more officers very unwell; Pearce is in great danger, I believe, and our Commandant, Major Davie, is also sick. What a melancholy catalogue I could give you of our departed friends.

"God only knows what will become of us here, for if we were ordered to evacuate the place, there is scarce a single European that could walk a mile, and there are neither coolies or doolies. If we were to be attacked we have only three Artillerymen fit for duty. The Malay regiment have lost upwards of thirty men this month."

Extract from a letter from Lieut. Blakeney, 19th Regiment, dated June 14th:—

"I need not attempt to picture to you the dreadful state of affairs here. Sickness and starvation, together with the treachery of the Adigár; combine these things with the General's sickness and departure and I fear not a man now here will ever leave it. I still keep my usual spirits, and have plenty of employment. I hope, however, to see you again, if the Malays stand by us, and I believe the flank companies from Trincomalee must be ordered up to save our throats."

The last letter that was received from the ill-fated garrison was from the Commandant, Major Davie. It is of peculiar interest because this unfortunate officer was made the official scapegoat of the disaster which followed a week later. How little he was to blame becomes more and more apparent as one pieces together the fragmentary accounts of all that led up to the catastrophe.

Extract from a letter from Major Davie, Commandant of Kandy, dated June 17, 1803:—

“ Henderson died on the 11th, and Bausset this morning, Rumley and Gonpil are also ill.

“ The Lascars and Malays desert by dozens, and high rewards are offered to murder all the officers.

“ — Batteries close to us. Our bullocks carried off by force, and attempts even made to carry off the small mortars from the park on the parade. A hopeful situation truly, and a pretty time to succeed to such a command.

“ Excuse this scrawl, it being the 19th letter I have written this day, and besides I am far from well. The General and his Aide-de-camp left this on the 11th, both ill. I wish they may reach Colombo safe.”

Major Davie has been blamed with unnecessary bitterness for displaying the white flag, for trusting Pilima's word that the sick would be cared for, and finally for ordering the small party of troops capable of marching to give up their arms. It is evident that the officers of the Malay regiment urged the necessity of the white flag, and with good reason, since of the twenty Europeans fit for duty many were scarcely able to stand. In believing that Pilima Talauwé was the secret friend of the English, and would do his best to save them, Major Davie was only adopting the official view, and following the example and possibly the advice of his superiors. He had been informed of the treaty. The order to surrender arms was given in his absence, and it is on this account only that he is to blame. A message was brought to him at the river saying that Pilima Talauwé was

in a house close at hand where he must come at once as the Minister wished to speak with him, and could come no nearer on account of the King's suspicions. Davie went, and was never seen again, but it is evident that he died a prisoner in Kandy some months* later. A false message was brought to the troops by a bribed native soldier, telling them in Davie's name to obey the Chiefs in all things. The Chiefs ordered a surrender of all arms, and after consultation the officers gave the command.

Corporal Barnsley of the 19th alone escaped the massacre by endurance that was little less than miraculous. His account is not altogether accurate in the light of later discoveries, but it can hardly be expected of one of his rank to know the motives and circumstances which influenced his officers. Including those who were butchered in hospital the 19th regiment lost one hundred and seventy men. Out of a total strength of eight hundred and forty-three there were three hundred and thirty-eight deaths during the year, including the commanding officer Lieut.-Colonel Hunter.

The news of the disaster in Kandy cast a gloom over Colombo which was not relieved by the prospect of renewed hostilities with France. Encouraged by the expulsion of the British from the interior the Kandyans prepared to attack the coast settlements and there followed a series of decisive encounters in British territory between small detachments from the Colombo garrison and large bodies of the invaders. In every instance the latter were routed, and all possibility of an attack on Colombo was averted. The 19th, as usual, were much in evidence, and Captain Beaver and Captain Hankey were awarded special mention in General Orders for work at Mátara and in the Kēlanī Valley.

Desultory warfare was continued during 1804 and 1805, when hostilities came to an end, and peace was unbroken until 1815. In 1804 occurred another blunder, and further

* 1 Years. The probable date of his death is February 1812, *vide* D'Oyly's Diary. *Ed. Sec.*

disaster was averted on the occasion of the soldierly qualities of Captain Johnston of the 19th. General Wemyss, who had succeeded General Macdowal in the command of the troops made arrangements for a combined attack on Kandy by seven expeditions marching from different points round the coast. The idea was abandoned later and the leaders were ordered by letter to invade the enemy's territory and retire. The letter received by Captain Johnston at Batticaloa was ambiguous in its wording, and was treated by him as supplementary to previous orders. He marched to Kandy only to find himself besieged there alone. Rains set in, and he retired just in time to ford the river. The narrative of his march to Trincomalee, the difficulties he encountered, and the sufferings he underwent with the handful of troops he commanded is one of the most stirring chapters in the history of British occupation. He was tried by court-martial for disobeying orders, but he was justly and honourably acquitted.

Pilima Talauwé came to a well-deserved end in 1812 when he was tried and executed for conspiracy against his king. When the later cruelties of the monarch brought about the invitation to Britain in 1815 to dethrone him and rule the country, the 19th again marched to Kandy. On this occasion the interior came under British protection without a blow, and the whole Island settled down peacefully under the new *régime* for two years until conspiracies on the part of a priest adventurer again sowed the seeds of war and rebellion. In 1817 commenced the rebellion in Uva, a movement which might have assumed serious proportions had not active measures been employed to suppress it. Mistaken clemency at the outset fanned the flames and necessitated considerable severity later in the destruction of villages and crops, but by this time the greater portion of the Kandyan provinces was under arms, and it was not until 1818 that the capture of the ringleaders finally crushed opposition.

The events of this last campaign are too numerous for mention in a short article. Small garrisons and outposts

were established throughout the disaffected area, and on the receipt of information regarding the whereabouts of the enemy expeditions were dispatched by forced marches to capture or dislodge the leaders. In this way the Kandians were constantly harassed; the arrival of an insurgent chief in any locality being surely followed by an unwelcome visit from British troops. The nature of the country prevented a speedy termination of hostility as the Kandians though put to flight had little difficulty in making their escape through the heavy jungle. Under Lieut.-Colonel Hook, the 19th regiment shared in the entire campaign and distinguished itself as on former occasions, although active operations were invariably on a small scale. No event of very remarkable importance occurred, but the hard work accomplished by scattered detachments can be realised when we read that in the years 1817 and 1818, the regiment lost two hundred and five men from wounds and sickness. By 1819 the total strength had been reduced to five hundred and ninety-eight, and this number, after a quiet year of garrison life in Kandy and Galle at last returned to England in 1820.

Roll of Officers, 19th Foot, who died between 1796 and 1820.

(By MAJOR M. LL. FERRAR, late XIX. Foot.)

NAME.	DATE.	PLACE.
1. Major Herbert Beaver ...	19 April 1809	Colombo.
2. Bt.-Lieut.-Col. James McNab	4 June 1818	Trincomalee.
3. Capt.-Lieut. Thos. Alex. Kennedy ...	15 April 1800	Colombo.
4. Qr.-Master James La Hey\$...	25 March 1802	Trincomalee.
5. Lieut.-Col. James Dunbar Hunter ...	4 Sept. 1803	Trincomalee.
6. Lieut and Adj. John Ker ...	17 Jan. 1803	Colombo.
7. Bt.-Major John Wm. Evans ...	31 Dec. 1804	Jaffnapatam.
8. Lieut. Hector McLaine* ...	26 June 1803	Kandy.
9. Lieut. William Blakeney* ...	24 June 1803	Kandy.
10. Lieut. Peter Plenderleath* ...	24 June 1803	Kandy.
11. Captain Robert Ball ...	17 June 1811	Colombo.
12. Lieut. Martin Harland Byne* ...	26 June 1803	Kandy.
13. Ensign George Kearns ...	20 April 1801	Trincomalee.
14. Ensign Robert Smith* ...	26 June 1803	Kandy.
15. Captain Thos. Aldersey Jones\$...	18 April 1818	Batticaloa.
16. Captain Charles Pearce ...	6 Aug. 1808	Colombo.

NAME.	DATE.	PLACE.
17. Qr.-Master John Brown* ...	26 June 1803	Kandy.
18. Asst. Surgeon William Hope* ...	26 June 1803	Kandy.
19. Lieut. Henry Littleton Smith* ...	14 Oct. 1804	Lake Minnery.
20. Capt. James Peter Fitzgerald\$...	16 June 1815	Trincomalee.
21. Lieut. Robert Saunders ...	17 Jan. 1810	Colombo.
22. Paymaster Robert Nicholls\$...	28 Aug. 1819	Point de Galle.
23. Qr.-Master Thomas Blake ...	14 Oct. 1814	Colombo.
24. Lieut. and Adj. Ried. Phe- poe Nixon ...	12 June 1810	Point de Galle.
25. Capt. William Robertson ...	21 July 1816	Matara.
26. Capt. John Gore-Langton ...	6 May 1818	Katabowa.
27. Lieut. John Bowyer Edensor ...	31 Oct. 1814	Point de Galle.
28. Lieut. Robert Gardiner\$...	2 June 1815	Trincomalee.
29. Asst. Surgeon Richard Hooper ...	14 May 1818	Colombo.
30. Lieut. Fortescue Wm. Hatherley ...	20 July 1818	Katabowa.
31. Capt. James Edwin McGlas- han, K. H.\$...	2 Dec. 1817	Kandy.
32. Lieut.-Col. Donald McBean\$...	15 Nov. 1819	Point de Galle.
33. Ensign Wm. Thornton ...	6 Sept. 1816	Trincomalee.
34. Lieut. Berkeley Vincent* ...	14 Oct. 1804	Lake Minnery.
35. Lieut. Jasper Nixon ...	20 Oct. 1800	Ceylon.
36. Lieut. John Nairn ...	8 Aug. 1799	Not known.
37. Lieut. Randolph McDonald ...	30 Mar. 1799	Not known.
38. Ensign Charles Hume ...	17 July 1798	Not known.
39. Lieut. and Adj. John Crooks ...	28 June 1804	Not known.
40. Ensign Charles Douglas ...	April 1805	Not known.
41. Captain Richard Parsons ...	10 April 1813	Not known.
42. Captain Robt. Brown Duke ...	5 Dec. 1816	Not known.
43. Lieut. Sir James Colquhoun, Bt. ...	24 April 1799	Errod, on the March to Se- ringapatam
44. Lieut. Thos. James Rodney\$...	13 Nov. 1809	Quilon, Tra- vancore.
45. Captain Hugo Wemyss ...	29 April 1815	On board the "Arniston" near the Cape of G. Hope.
46. Lieut. Harry Beaver ...	13 April 1816	"At sea."
47. Ensign Adam Callender ...	30 May 1815	Drowned in the "Arnis- ton" off Cape. das Agulhas.
48. Lieut. Francis Goodall ...	30 May 1815	
49. Lieut. Donald Campbell ...	9 June 1819	Jersey C.I.

* Killed in action.

There are memorials in Ceylon to those marked \$, none others that I know of.

In the same period amongst the N. C.O.'s and men there were 1,498 deaths and 557 invalided home.

(NOTE—The Roll is printed as written by Major Ferrar, but a comparison with Mr. J. P. Lewis's List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon shows these differences:—2. 4 January, 1818, Batticaloa 3. Capt. Thos. Alex. Kennedy; 12. 24 June, 1803; 17. Qr.-Master William Brown; 21. Lieut. Arthur Saunders; 24. 11 June, 1810; 25. Lieut. William Robertson; 27. Lieut. John Bower Edenson; 28. Lieut. Robert Gardner; 39. 28 January, 1804. *Ed. Sec.*)

The Ven. ARCHDEACON de WINTON, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Reith, said he was sorry to think that some one better qualified than he had not been present to offer remarks on the paper. The story to them, Englishmen, was a sad one—but it shed a good deal of light on the difficulties in those days and on military movements; and it was marvellous that any of the Yorkshires should have survived at all from the siege of Kandy.

There were two points on which he wished to touch.

The first was the passage where it was stated that:—

There is little doubt that England was drawn into the conquest of Eastern Colonies not so much from thoughts of Empire-building as from the opportunity of harassing enemies with whom she was at war.

Lower down the East India Company in connection with taxation was referred to and we are led to infer that this taxation was a good deal prevalent in Ceylon. If so, the motive in allowing the East India Company here was also surely the promotion of trade? No doubt also the War in Europe had a good deal to do with the military operations in Ceylon.

Then, secondly, the writer endeavoured to rehabilitate the reputation of Major Davie. If it were the case that an agreement had been made by the British Governor with the Adigár, it seemed only right to say that he (Major Davie) was really adopting the advice of his superiors. This officer is usually credited with motives of fear, and with having abandoned his men to a horrible massacre. One would have liked to learn how the troops managed to march where there were no roads and when they must have been dependent on native guides. The letters, however, are a most valuable means of gaining information and are written on the spot by men in the midst of the siege. He cordially moved the vote of thanks to Mr. Reith.

6. Mr. Paul Pieris—seconded. He said he had unfortunately not had the time required to study the Paper, or the period it covered. What an echo the whole story was, of 300 years ago. Take the references to *beri-beri* and tobacco. He was not sure what *beri-beri* was; but he quoted what a Portuguese writer wrote in his own age in Ceylon.—“The people in the island were subject to another disease: *beri-beri*.... The malady could only be cured by eating pork and smoking tobacco. The General issued an order that everyone should smoke tobacco.” Another remark was made in regard to the beef. Knox had remarked long before, though in another connection, “Beef here may not be eaten: it is abominable.” He proceeded to read a letter from Jeronymo de Azavedo dated 1603, which was almost an echo of the English officers. The very atmosphere in which these people fought is reproduced. Disease was the strongest weapon the Sinhalese had in the guerrilla warfare they carried on. What had the Sinhalese left after 150 years of that terrible guerrilla war?—they had their jungles and their *fever*. They continued their struggle with the aid of these. He hoped the start that

had been made by Mr. Reith would be followed up, and that he would continue his researches into the history of the living people in the midst of whom he lived. He seconded the vote of thanks with great pleasure.

7. The President said—They would all agree that Mr. Reith had given them in that Paper a glimpse of the past which brought things home to them in a very lifelike way, although some of the memories he recalled were rather sad ones. But the writer had carefully taken pains to steer clear of the politics of the period.

Mr. North, the Governor, wished to obtain a firm footing in the Kandyan kingdom and he was not altogether fortunate in all his attempts to carry out that ambition. He himself in his private letters to the Marquis of Wellesley showed that he had doubts as to the wisdom of his own policy. He wrote:—"I am not yet certain whether I have acted like a good politician or a great nincompoop"! (Laughter.) And afterwards he was quite ready to own that in so far as he was ready to place any confidence in Pilima Talauwé, his conduct was such that the Chief retained command of the situation.

He (the speaker) did not agree with Mr. Reith as regards the unfortunate Major Davie, though it was desirable to have such facts as enabled them to sympathise with him in the extreme difficulties in which he was placed. The position was one in which the bravest course would have been also the wisest and safest.

The vote of thanks was then put by the President and unanimously carried.

8. Mr. Reith—in thanking and replying on the points raised—said that the Archdeacon had referred to the East India Co. and taxation.

The reason the East India Co. was given the charge of Ceylon taxation was that it was rather doubtful what was to be done with Ceylon—and whether it was to be returned to the Dutch. The East India Co. was asked meanwhile to look after it. It sent several Tamil tax-collectors over who did a great deal of harm to the British name in Ceylon. And afterwards the system was stopped. Then secondly, with regard to Major Davie, we must take into consideration all that he suffered: in illness, absence of relief, and faced with the alternative that he must put his back to the wall and fight, or trust to the Adigár; he chose the latter—which was what Governor North was doing constantly. It seemed that Pilima Talauwé was the secret friend of the English.

As to Mr. Paul Pieris's remarks, (it was a pity Dr. Andreas Nell was not present to clear up what *beri-beri* was), he thought they all owed something to the British soldier. Englishmen in Ceylon were apt to forget this. Throughout the island there were the graves of British soldiers uncared for. Mr. P. R. Shand

had now been taking up the task of looking after the graves; they should all take an interest in their preservation as they were really the foundation stones of the island's peace and prosperity.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE CHAIR.

9. With a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by the Hon. Mr. Horsburgh, seconded by Mr. J. P. Obeyesékara, the Meeting terminated.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum. October 23, 1913.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. A.M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár	Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.L.S.
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.,
The Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh,	L.L.M.
M.A., C.C.S.	Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. A. N. Galbraith, B.A., C.C.S. and Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretaries.	

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on 25th July. 1913.

2. Resolved,—That the following candidates be elected Members of the Society:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) Amarapura Gaṇapradhána
Sanghanáyaka Ukkattha-
mahátissa Ariyavansálan-
kára Nāṇatilaka, Buddhist
High Priest: recommend-
ed by | Arthur Jayawardana.
A. M. Guṇasékara. |
| (2) William Claessen, M.S.A.:
recommended by | J. Harward.
Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (3) N. D. A. Silva Wijayasingha
Siriwardana, Padikára Mu-
daliyár: recommended by | J. Harward.
Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (4) Revd. Edgar Thomas Selby:
recommended by | J. Harward.
Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (5) Pandurangi Sita Rao, B.A.
(Non-Resident): recom-
mended by | A. E. Roberts.
O. A. Jayasékara. |
| (6) Mohendralal Lahiri, B.A.:
recommended by | M. Nānissara.
C. A. Hevavitarana. |
| (7) W. Saddhánanda Théro: re-
commended by | E. R. Goonaratna.
A. M. Guṇasékara. |
| (8) Ukku Bandára Dolapihilla:
recommended by | C. A. Hevavitarana.
M. Nānissara. |

3. Laid on the table Circular No. 352 of 26th July, 1913, containing the opinions of Messrs. P. E. Pieris and G. A. Joseph on the Paper entitled: "A Recent Find of Coins," by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for publication and that Mr. Codrington be asked to furnish illustrations of some of the coins.*

4. Laid on the table letter from the Colonial Secretary, dated 5th September, 1913, regarding the Ms. entitled: "Fernão de Queiroz's Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon," together with connected papers.

5. Read letter from Vereening Kolonial Instituut, Amsterdam, asking for an exchange of Publications.

Resolved,—That the Institution be put on the Exchange List from the present year and be so notified.

6. Laid on the table two Papers by Mr. P. E. Pieris, entitled: (a) "The Failure of the Portuguese," (b) "The Sinhalese People."

Resolved, after discussion,—That Mr. Pieris' offer of a lecture be accepted and that the President and Honorary Secretaries do invite H. E. the Governor, as Patron of the Society, to take the Chair.

7. Laid on the table Rules and Regulations of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, as finally revised by the Council.

8. Laid on the table Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopædia, etc., by Lionel Giles, M.A., purchased by the Society.

9. Laid on the table letter from Mr. Lionel Giles forwarding a translation from the "*Ming Shih*" and connected papers.

Resolved,—That it was agreed the letter, translation and all the previous connected correspondence be referred to Messrs. P. E. Pieris and E. W. Perera for expression of their opinions.

10. Read two letters from Mr. H. Woosman Mills, addressed to the Honorary Secretary, regarding advance copies of Papers for the press before such Papers are read.

Resolved,—That Mr. Woosman Mills be informed that the Council, after duly considering his application, deem it undesirable to depart from the rule that advance copies of Papers be issued only to Members of the Society.

11. Resolved,—That the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society desires to record their feelings of deep sorrow at the death of Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., (Vice-President 1902—1903, President 1904—1909, Vice-President from 1909 up to his death,) and to record their deep appreciation of his valuable and devoted services to the Society.

The Council desires to offer to Mr. Ferguson and the members of the family heartfelt condolence in their great bereavement.

12. Decided that the date for next General Meeting be settled by the President and Honorary Secretaries.

* Mr. Codrington replied that illustrations could not be furnished, as many of the coins were not in his possession. The most interesting appear in the Colombo Museum Catalogue recently published. *Ed. Sec.*

A RECENT FIND OF COINS.

BY H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

In the early months of the present year a certain number of silver and billon* coins, chiefly Persian, Indo-Portuguese and Dutch, began to find their way into the local market. More appeared later and in all over eight hundred pieces have passed through the writer's hands. The find being a large one, some account of the coins, even if incomplete, seems desirable.

Of those dated the earliest is of 1601 and the latest of 1711: it is doubtful whether the Zeeland stuiver of 1731 formed part of the deposit. Many, especially the early Dutch, are much worn by circulation, but all, with a few exceptions, were clean and some of the latest dates show but little signs of wear. The evidence available points to the locality of the find as being in the Southern Province or the adjoining parts of Sabaragamuwa.

Persian. As far as is known no other coins of the Shahs of Persia have been found in Ceylon, but that they were in circulation is certain. By the Instructions of Governor Ryckloff van Goens in 1661: "No Portuguese coins, such as peruse, reals and paternosters, or any Indian coins, such as rupees, abaseys, pagodas, fannums, &c. are to be accepted without having been stamped with the Company's mark," and in spite of plakaat of February 8th, 1702, declaring "abatjes" and "mammodies" to be no longer current, they were still apparently in use about 1726, Valentyn mentioning great and small Persian "abassis" as circulating at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{3}$ to the ryksdaalder or $22\frac{1}{2}$ and 18 light stuivers respectively.

* An alloy of silver with a large admixture of base metal.

With the exception of a single five sháhí piece, the “ great abassi ” of Valentyn, the coins in the find are ‘abbásís of 4, and maḥmúdís of 2 sháhís each, weighing about 114 and 57 grains respectively. A considerable number are counter-marked with the monogram of the Dutch Company, surmounted by C, the mint mark of Colombo.

One maḥmúdí has been assigned to the reign of Şafí I. on the strength of the marginal legend on the reverse: the coinage of ‘Abbás II. is represented by the five sháhí piece and a maḥmúdí, the remainder bearing the name of his successor, either as Şafí II. or as Sulaimán I. The number of maḥmúdís from the mint of Ḥuwaiza in Khuzistán is noteworthy.

Indo-Portuguese.—These coins are comparatively few in number, but present some interesting varieties in which the legend is inverted in whole or in part.

The countermarks are:—

- (1) The Dutch Company’s monogram
 - (a) Simply.
 - (b) Surmounted by C (Colombo) or I (Jaffna).
- (2) The monogram G A, supposed to represent “ Galle.”
- (3) R.

The roughly executed tangas, with the royal arms on the obverse and a gridiron or the monogram T A (tanga) on the reverse, and those with the gridiron between S L (São Lourenço) are perhaps the issues of the local mint. The double gridiron tanga of 1645 is believed to be unique.

Dutch.—The coins of the United Provinces form the bulk of the find, every province and five of the cities being represented: the greater number of the dubbeltjes or two stuiver pieces are of Overijssel and Zeeland. A few are counter-marked.

Miscellaneous.—These consist of three coins, one of the Duchy of Cleves, the mint of which has not yet been identified by the writer, and two of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella of the Spanish Netherlands.

REFERENCES.

- B. M. C. Pers. Poole, R. S. : Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum.
 Mus: Numism: Codrington, O. : Musalman Numismatics.
 Grogan. Grogan, H. T. : Indo-Portuguese Numismatics ; references to columns in Spink's Monthly Numismatic Circular, July 1911, May and September 1912, January 1913.

* Coins of which the attribution to the find under discussion is doubtful.

PERSIAN.

ŞAFÍ I. A.H. 1038-1052 (A.D. 1629-1642).

Maḥmúdí, Ḥuwaiza type.

Obv. in margin, ending in area, the Shi'ah Kalimah :

“ There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the apostle of God, ‘Alí is the friend of God.”

Countermarked.

Rev. in margin, “[Sháh has] t az ján ghu [lám Şafí]” in area, “ b Ḥuwaiza ” ; date not read. For this legend, “ The king is in soul the slave of Şafí,” *vide* B. M. C. Pers. p. lxviii. line 20. and p. 25 no. 34 a. : the word “ zarb ” “ mint ” is added, continued into the area.

1 specimen, Museum.

‘ABBÁS II. A.H. 1052-1077 (A.D. 1642-1666).

Five Sháhi piece.

Obv. in area, Kalimah : in margin, the twelve imáms

“ ‘Alí Ḥasan Ḥusain ‘Alí Muḥammad Ja‘far Músa ‘Alí Muḥammad ‘Alí Ḥasan Muḥammad.”

Rev. couplet :

“ Throughout the world imperial money came
 Struck by God's grace in ‘Abbás Sání's name.”

(Mus : Numism : p. 96, couplet no. I.)

Mint : Tiflis A.H. 1075

1 specimen.

Maḥmúdí.

Obv. Kalimah : countermarked.

Rev. as in five sháhí piece.

Mint and date illegible.

1 specimen, Museum.

One coin resembling the maḥmúdí, but weighing 64·5 gr.

ŞAFÍ II. (SULAIMÁN I.) A.H. 1077-1105 (A.D. 1667-1694).

‘Abbásís, with title of Şafí II.

Obv. as on five sháhí piece.

Rev. couplet :

“ Since ‘Abbás Sání from the world is passed away
Şafí (the second’s) money has imperial sway.”

(Mus : Numism : p. 96, couplet no. 1)

(a) large lettering : date and mint illegible.

(b) fine lettering : date and mint illegible.

(c) fine lettering : Tiflís A.H. 1078.

3 specimens, 1 Museum.

‘Abbásís, with title of Sulaimán I.

(1) Obv. as on five sháhí piece.

Rev. couplet, the lines ending with “ şáḥib qirán ”
and “ Sulaimán jahán ” respectively (Numismatic
Chronicle 1908).

“ Coin the emperor struck in equity,

By its assay the world’s king Solomon is he.”

Date and mint illegible : countermarked.

2 specimens, Museum.

(2) Obv. as above.

Rev. “banda sháh wiláyat Sulaimán” (Sulaimán slave
of the king of the country, sc. ‘Alí).

Tiflís A.H. 1077, 1087, 1088, 1091 and 1 in Museum,
date illegible.

Ardebíl A.H. 1089, 10. .

Eriván A.H. 1090, 10. .

Ganja A.H. 10. 9, 1092.

Others, mint illegible: date, A.H. 10:

Most are countermarked.

cf. B.M.C. Pers. Pl. 111, 58.

3 specimens, Museum.

Mahmúdís.

(1) One as 'abbási 2: on two legend doubtful but apparently as on last; mint and date illegible. Museum.

(2) Huwaiza type, vide Şafí 1.: most countermarked.

Interlacing pattern:—

(a) to left: A.H. 1080? (Museum), 1085 (do.), 1089, 1091, 1092.

(b) to right:

A.H. 1081 or 1085 (Museum), 1085 (do.), 1086 (do.), 1088 (do.), 1089 (do.), 1090?, 1091 (do.) 1096 (do.).

(c) at bottom:

A.H. 10. .

(d) at top:

A.H. 1089, 1092.

B. C. M. Pers. nos. 77-87 on pp. 37 and 38.

Unassigned.

(1) Obv. Shi'ah Kalimah.

Rev. legend unread in three lines, within line circle
Countermarked? V O C. Weight 108.5 gr.

1 specimen.

(2) Obv. legend unread.

Rev. do. Countermarked,

Weight 103.5 gr.: diam. .905 inch.

1 specimen.

INDO-PORTUGUESE.

Malacca type.

(1) Malacca: Tangas. (Grogan, 12873)

a. Obv. Crowned arms between A-M (Asia Malaca).
Countermarked G A.

Rev. Monogram T A (tanga) between D-M (de Malaca);
below, 1632.

- b. The same, countermarked on reverse.
- c. The same, no date.
- d. The same, but date 1633 below arms: no countermark.

(2) D S type: Double Tanga. (Grogan 12893)

Obv. Crowned arms between G-A (Goa).

Rev. T A between D-S (de Seylão); below, date 1644.

Tangas, same design.

1642: a. with no countermark.

b. countermark G A on obverse.

c. V O C surmounted by I (Jaffna); 1 specimen.

d. obv. V O C, the O on right and the C on left;
no C above.

rev. the whole inverted.

2 specimens, 1 Museum.

Date illegible: countermarked

a. V O C

b. R

(3) Tanga of rough execution, apparently local (Grogan, 12892).

Obv. Crowned arms.

Rev. T A.

2 specimens, 1 weighing
33.5 gr.

Gridiron type: Double Tanga.

(1) Obv. Crowned arms between B-O

Rev. Gridiron between 16-45.

Tangas.

(2) Obv. as (1) but C-L° (Ceilão or Colombo).

Rev. as (1) but 16-40. (Grogan, 12892.)

a. with no countermark.

b. countermarked R.

c. obv. letter to left apparently L° inverted and
badly formed, the other illegible; rev. the whole
inverted. 1 specimen.

(3) Obv. as (1) but G-A.

Obv. as (1); 16-45. (Grogan, 12894)

a. with no countermark.

b. on obv. G-A inverted. 2 specimens.

c. as b.; on rev. date inverted. 1 specimen.

d. as a.; G illegible and A upside down: rev. only one letter not read to right of gridiron.

1 specimen.

(4) Of rough execution, apparently local; undated (Grogan, 12892).

Obv. Crowned arms.

Rev. Gridiron. 1 specimen.

(5) Obv. Crowned arms between 3 i.

Rev. Gridiron between S-L (São Lourenço)

Probably of the local mint. 2 specimens.

a. the same, but L upside down. 1 specimen.

Saint type.

(1) Obv. Crowned arms between G-A.

Rev. St. John Baptist between S-I (São João): below, date. (Grogan, 13870).

a. Double Tanga. 1650, countermarked V O C.

Do 16.., do V O C. surmounted by I (Jaffna).

b. Tanga. 16... countermarked V O C; mint letters G-A or C-B reversed.

(2) As above, but C-B (Chaul-Bassein.) (Grogan, 13871.)

a. Double Tanga, 1653.

b. Tanga, 1653.

DUTCH.

Friesland.

Dubbeltjes.

Obv. Lion of the United Provinces, with sword and bundle of arrows, between 2 S

Rev. FRI

SIA

above, mintmark; below, date. (Type I)

- (1) Mintmark, lion of Leeuwarden :
1652, 1654, 1653 or 1658, 1660, 1664, 1665.
- (2) Mintmark, same between two quatrefoils :
1675, 1676, 1678, 1680.

Stuivers.

- (1) Obv. Crowned arms between I S : in margin, at top shield (? lion of Leeuwarden) MONETA + ORDINVM + FRISLÆ.

Rev. Floriate cross : in centre on shield lion of Leeuwarden :

NISI + DOMINVS + NSCVM + 1601 + (Nisi Dominus nobiseum.) 1 specimen.

- (2) Obv. Bundle ('bezem') of arrows between I S

Rev. F R I
S I A

date below.

('bezem stuiver')

- (a) Legend on Rev. between 4 dots :
? 1612, 1622, 1623, 1623 or 1627, 1629.

- (b) without dots :
1661, 1664, 168.

West Friesland.

* Schelling.

Obv. Crowned arms within wreath :

MO : NO : ORDIN (star) WESTFRISLÆ
(Moneta nova Ordinum West Frisiae)
above, 1680.

Rev. Floriate cross ; in centre ? WF

DEVS | FORTI | ET SPES | NOST
(Deus fortitudo et spes nostra)

1 specimen.

Dubbeltjes (1) Type I

W
F R I
S I A

- a. ? mintmark : 1615, 162⁺, 1639.
- b. mintmark, fleur de lys : 164⁺, 1646.
- c. mintmark, cinquefoil : 1653.
- d. no mintmark : 167⁺, 1672, 1678.

- (2) variety of type I : obv. lion rampant without sword or arrows : no mintmark : 1671, 1672.

Stuivers.

- (1) Obv. Arms between I S

MO NO ORDIN WESTFRISIÆ.

Rev. Floriate cross : in centre, W F.

DEVS | FORT | ET SPS | NOST

- (2) 'bezem stuivers' :

W

F R I

S I A

1641

1 specimen.

Gelderland.

Scheep Schelling.

Obv. Crowned arms of Gelderland between 6 S.

MO : ARG DVC GEL ET C-Z (Knight on horseback
[ruytertje])

(Moneta argentea Ducatus Gelriae et Comitatus
Zutphen.)

Rev. Ship to r. ; above, 1709.

VIGILATE DEO CONFIDENTES.

Dubbeltjes

Type I as Friesland, but G E L

R I A

- a. mintmark, cross of Nymegen :

1614, 1618, 1619 ?.

- b. mintmark, fleur de lys :

1645?, 1646.

- c. mintmark, dog sejant l.

1678, 1679, 1680.

Stuivers ('bezem')

a. 1620

b. mintmark, fleur de lys :
1640.*Groningen en Ommelanden.*

Stuivers.

Obv. Arms quarterly, crowned, between I S

Rev. GRON
ET · OML

1683?, 1684

Holland.

Scheep schelling.

As Gelderland, but obv. arms of Holland and MO. NO.

ORD. HOLL. ET WESTFRI.

(Moneta nova Ordinum Hollandiae et West Frisiae.)

168·, 1708, 1711.

Dubbeltjes.

(1) Type I as Friesland but

HOL
LAN
DIA

mintmark rose :

1614, 1616, 1618, 1628.

(2) Obv. Arms of Holland, crowned, between 2 S

Rev. as Type I : same mintmark.

(Type II.)

1677, 1678, 1699, 1700, 1701.

Stuivers (coin not seen)

16··

Overijssel.

Dubbeltjes.

Type I, but

(1) TRÂS
ISVLA
NIA

(a) mintmark, fleur de lys :

1613 ?, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1633, 1634, 1635.

(b) mintmark, arms of Zwolle (a cross) :

1618.

(c) mintmark, arms of Overijssel (lion rampant) :

1616, 1617, 1637.

One coin of (a) countermarked with fleur de lys in oval: date, 1618.

Of two with illegible mintmarks, one dated 1618 countermarked with a ? crowned shield, and one with a bundle of arrows.

(2) TRAN
SVLA
NIA

1616.

Type II., but Obv. arms of United Provinces, and rev.

TR ÂS
ISVLA
NIA

mintmark, sixfoil :

1678, 1679, 1680, 170, 1703.

Stuivers (1) ('bezem')

(a) mintmark fleur de lys: legend as on dubbeltje
Type I.

1619, 1627 or 1629.

(b) no mintmark; same legend :

1628, 1633, 1634, 1638.

(c) not stated, 1623, 1635.

(d) no mintmark; legend,

TRAN
SISVL
ANIA
1665.

(2) As dubbeltje Type II.: arms between I S
1670.

Utrecht.

Ruyter Schelling.

Obv. Knight on horseback.

(shield of Utrecht city) CONCORDIA RES PARVÆ
CRESCUNTRev. Arms quarterly : 1 and 4, cross ; 2 and 3 lion
rampant.

MONE : NOVA ORDIN : TRAI

(Moneta nova Ordinum Trajecti)

above, 1679.

1 specimen.

Scheep schelling. As Gelderland, but arms quarterly as
above.

MO. NO. ARG. ORDIN. TRAIECT.

(Moneta nova argentea Ordinum Trajecti)

1701, 1703, 1704.

Dubbeltjes. Type I. as Friesland, but mintmark. shield of
Utrecht city, (a) and

TRA

IEC

TVM

1615, 1616, 1618, 1619.

(b)

TRA

IECT.

1674

Type II. Obv. arms (lion rampant) and rev.
mintmark, shield between two roses, and

TRA

I E C

TUM

1709?.

Stuiver.

Obv. arms of Utrecht City (diapered) between I S
MON N....CIVI. TRA. 16.....

(Moneta nova argentea civitatis Trajectensis)

Rev. Cross with short arms

(shield of city) FORTITVDO NOSTRA DEVS

1 specimen.

Zeeland.

Dubbeltjes. Type I. as Friesland, but

ZEE

LAN

DIA.

Mintmark, castle

(a) between two quatrefoils :

1611?, 1612?, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619,
1622, 1624, 1626, 1628, 1633?, 1640, 1641.

One of 1628 countermarked with fleur de lys in
oval.

(b) between two dots, as also date :

1669, 1670, 1677.

Type II. : Obv. arms of Zeeland ; rev. legend as
Type I.

Mintmark, castle

(a) between two dots, as also date :

1681, 1683.

(b) as (a) but no dots flanking date :

1696.

(c) between two cinquefoils, as also second line of
legend :

1699.

(d) between two cinquefoils :

1700, 1701, 1702, 1705, 1707.

Stuivers. (1) 'bezem'

1612, 1619? 1631.

(2) Obv. charges of arms of Zeeland (demi-lion
issuant from sea.)

Rev. ZEE

LAN

DIA

- (a) above, mintmark, castle, between · I · · S · ,
under which a line: below, date between two
dots:
1681, 1682, 1682 or 1689, 1683, 1684.
- * (b) as (a) but without line: date after legend
1731.

Deventer.

Dubbeltje. Type I., but DAVEN

·
TRIA.

above, mintmark, dog sejant r.
1683.

Groningen.

Dubbeltjes or Jagers.

- a. Obv. Arms (imperial eagle, in pretence escutcheon
of Groningen city).

(cross) MONETA· NOVA· GRONINGENSIS· 1604

Rev. Floriate cross: in centre, arms of Groningen
city.

SIT· NOMEN· DOMINI· BENEDICTVM.

1 specimen.

- b. as above, but obv. star before legend and 1605.

Rev. SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDIC ···

1 specimen.

Kampen.

Arend schelling.

Obv. Imperial eagle surmounted by crown

MATHI· I· DG· ELEC· [RO· IMP· SEM·] AVGV.

(variant AVGVVS)

(Matthias I. Dei gratia electus Romanorum Imper-
ator semper augustus)

Rev. Arms of Spain quarterly over cross of Bur-
gundy.

MO. ARG. | IMPERI. | CIVITA. | CAMPEN.
 (Moneta argentea imperialis civitatis Campensis).
 Matthias I, Emperor, 1612-1619.

Dubbeltjes. Type I., but CAM
 PEN

above, three dots :

1657, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680.

Stuivers (billon).

Obv. Arms of Spain quarterly crowned between I S
 MO. NO. ARG. IMP. CIVI. CAMPEN
 (Moneta nova argentea imperialis civitatis Campensis)

Rev. Floriate cross : in centre, castle.
 DOMIN | VS. NOS | TER. AD | IVTOR

Nymegen.

Dubbeltje.

Obv. Crowned arms (imperial eagle, in pretence es-
 cutcheon of Gelderland) between 2 S
 MONE. NO. CIVI. NOVI. 16 20
 (Moneta nova civitatis Novimagensis).

Rev. Floriate cross with short arms: in centre, arms
 of city.
 (Sixfoil). BEA. GNS. CVI. DNS. DS. EIVS
 (Beata gens cui Dominus Deus ejus).
 Countermarked with shield (imperial eagle).

Stuiver (billon.)

Obv. Crowned arms between I S
 MO NO CIVI NOVIM...1620.

Rev. Floriate cross
 BEA. | GNS | CV. D | S DS EI.

1 specimen.

Zwolle.

Arend schelling.

Obv. Imperial eagle, surmounted by crown: orb on breast

MATTH· I· [DG· RO· IMP· SEM] AVGV

(Matthias I. Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator semper augustus)

Rev. Arms of Spain quarterly crowned: above, escutcheon of Zwolle (a cross).

MONE · ARG · IMPERIA · CIVI · ZWOI

(Moneta argentea imperialis civitatis Zwollensis.)

Matthias I, Emperor, 1612-1619.

Dubbeltje. Type I., but ZVV

OLLA

above, mintmark, a cinquefoil: below, shield of city between date.

1674, 1677.

Stuiver (billon). (a) Obv. Crowned arms of Zwolle between I S

DEVS · REFVGIVM · NOSTR

Rev. Floriate cross: in centre, ? cinquefoil

MON | ARG | CIVI | ZVOL

(Moneta argentea civitatis Zwollensis).

(b) as (a) but without I S

? Kadzand (in Zeeland.)

Dubbeltje. Obv. Arms (quarterly. 1. eagle displayed. 2. three bars. 3. quarterly. 4. ? lion rampant.) over all, an escutcheon, a lion rampant?; surmounted by cap, between I S

CARL WILM ?.....A· CADS· B· I· & K

Rev. Floriate cross

(quatrefoil) IN· DOMINO· FIDUCIA· NOSTRA.

1 specimen.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Cleves.

Stuiver (billon.) Obv. Crowned arms quarterly of six
 (1. Cleves. 2. Gulik. 3. Berg. 4. Mark. 5. Egmond.
 6. ? Ravensberg.)

NVMMVS · CLIVENSIS

Rev. Floriate cross.

MON | ARG | CVS | MVS

(Moneta argentea cusa Mus...) 1 specimen.

Duke Frederick William A.D. 1640-1688.

Spanish Netherlands.

(Billon) Obv. Floriate cross, in centre Æ.

ALBER | TVS · ET · | ELISA | BET · D G

Rev. Crowned arms (party per fess : chief, per pale :

1. Hungary and Bohemia quarterly ; 2. Spain, with
 Portugal in pretence. Base, quarterly : 1. Austria ;
 2. Burgundy modern ; 3. Burgundy ancient ; 4. Bra-
 bant : over all an escutcheon, Flanders impaling
 Tyrol) between 16 15.

ARCHID · AVST · DVC · BVRG · BRA Z ?

(Albertus et Elisabet Dei gratia Archiduces Austriae
 Duces Burgundiae Brabantiae &c.)

Albert (1598-1621) and Isabella (1598-1633). Arch-
 dukes. 2 specimens.

P.S.—A part of the find consisted of bare silver Kandyan
 fanams.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 28, 1913.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers, K.C.B.,
Patron, in the Chair.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesékara, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

Mr. E. M. J. Abeyesingha.	Mr. T. A. E. Moonamale.
Mr. T. P. Attygalle, Superintendent of Police.	Mr. J. T. Muttiah, Mudaliyár.
Mr. W. D. Bandaranáike, Gate Mudaliyár.	Pandit D. Nánaséna Terunánásé.
Mr. T. H. Chapman, A.M.I.C.E.	Ven. W. A. Nánatilaka, High Priest.
Mr. W. Claessen, M.S.A.	Ven. M. Śrī Nánissara, High Priest.
Mr. B. C. Cooray, Mohandiram.	Mr. C. Námasiváyam, J.P.
Revd. J. P. de Pinto.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.	Mr. J. P. Obeyesékara, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law.
Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.	Mr. E. L. Perera.
Mr. Armand de Souza.	Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-Law.
Mr. W. B. Dolapihilla.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S., LL.M.
Dr. Solomon Fernando, M.B., C.M.	Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor S.C.
Mr. A. H. Gomes.	Mr. J. E. Rode.
Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.	Mr. W. A. Samarasingha, Mohandiram.
Mr. Gabrial Guṇawardana.	Mr. John M. Senaveratna.
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A.	Revd. G. A. F. Senáratna.
The Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.	Dr. V. van Langenberg, M.B., C.M.
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A., Barrister-at-Law.	Mr. D. D. Weerasingha, Mohandiram.
Mr. M. Lahin, B.A.	Mr. D. R. Wijewardana, B.A., Barrister-at-Law.
Mr. Alfred Lewis.	
Mr. M. B. Medagama.	

Messrs. A. N. Galbraith, C.C.S., and Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.,
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: Nine ladies and thirty-five gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on August 7, 1913.
 2. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.
 3. Laid on the table books and periodicals added to the Library since the last General Meeting.
 4. Laid on the table Part I. of "Ceylon Notes and Queries."
 5. Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., then delivered a lecture on "The Failure of the Portuguese, and the Sinhalese People."
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THE FAILURE OF THE PORTUGUESE, AND THE SINHALESE PEOPLE.

BY MR. P. E. PIERIS.

(*Synopsis of Lecture.*)

The battle of Gannoruwa, 1638, where ends the history of the Sinhalese as a fighting race, is a convenient point from which to survey the results of forty years of Portuguese administration. That administration had ended in utter failure. The oppression of the Nindagama owners was such that their tenants were frequently obliged to sell their children to obtain the necessaries of life. Their cocoanuts were forcibly acquired at the landlord's own valuation, or their trees tapped for toddy for the distillation of arrack. In dividing the ricecrops of the *Muttettu* fields the tenant was heavily mulcted to feed the village officials. The 'boom' in the arecanut trade, which was exclusively in Portuguese hands, led to the adoption of methods which have since been followed on the banks of the Congo and the Amazon. All classes were compelled to assist when a Portuguese landlord erected a house. The lascarins, who were employed in the same way as the Indian troops are to-day, were so oppressed that they could rarely find the opportunity to cultivate their holdings.

To the Disawas war was merely an excuse for speculation. Even during hostilities they kept up an active commerce with the enemy. They diverted the *Rájakáriya* which the blacksmiths and goldsmiths had to render to their own aggrandisement. At all times the *soldados* were little better than brigands. The knave in Europe cannot be a saint in Ceylon. The Generals were

as bad as all the rest, and their chief preoccupation was to enrich themselves during their period of office. The Vedors da Fazenda followed suit and plundered the *Gabadágam* which had been reserved for the service of the King. They so mismanaged the Hospital that one after the other the various religious Orders refused to be responsible for its work. The Factors systematically falsified the Accounts. The legal decisions of the Ouvidors were always influenced by the amount of the bribe they received from the litigants. The soldiers themselves were so irregularly paid and so ill fed that they frequently rose in mutiny. The dishonesty practised by the Board entrusted with the distribution of the villages was so glaring that the Guardian of the Franciscans resigned his seat in disgust.

The Generals would interfere even in the details of ecclesiastical procedure, and there was little harmony between the civil and religious authorities. The former charged the latter with all manner of excesses, abuse of authority, and exactions; the latter triumphantly replied that, whatever they did, no complaint was made against them by the people. The great temple villages which had been conferred on them by the *Sannas* of Dharmapála for the maintenance of education in the country, were taken back by the Portuguese Government, and the Orders were allowed a pittance in their place. Even the application of a village for the maintenance of perpetual Masses for the soul of Dharmapála who had gifted a Kingdom to their King, was refused by the Portuguese authorities.

Their treatment of rebels who came back to them, as in the case of Correa, proved a disastrous policy. They had made the mistake of underrating the military pertinacity of the Sinhalese till it was too late. By the time the mistake was realised, the Sinhalese had mastered the use of the Portuguese weapons. Warfare and

extermination became almost synonymous terms with the Portuguese, but the system proved a failure.

Materials to reconstruct the life of the Sinhalese in the XVI. century are very meagre. "From Seyllan to Paradise is a distance of forty Italian miles" wrote John de Marignolli in 1347. The villager to-day, when out of reach of the rupee of the Estate Superintendent, is still very much what his ancestor was in Portuguese times. Robert Knox has of all European writers left on record the truest description of the Sinhalese. The costume of the various classes described. Children practically wore nothing. Grace and dignity were the objects kept in view in the costume of a Sinhalese lady. Personal names were little used among the great folk. Rewards for distinction in war varied according to caste. *Paṭaḇeṇḍi* names took the place of honorary titles. Cleanliness in the preparation of food was characteristic of the race. The diet was mainly vegetarian, and the use of stimulants was looked down upon. Social festivities centred round the great domestic events. Polyandry was largely the result of the system of land tenure. The position of the Sinhalese woman was far in advance of the age. Sinhalese medicine was much resorted to by the Portuguese. The great institutions of Kéragala and Toṭagamuwa long maintained the traditions of the Indian Universities, and the learning of Alagiyawanna Mukaveṭi was renowned in the country in the time of Tavernier. The character of a people is largely the result of its religious beliefs. Toleration of all creeds was the policy of the Sinhalese. They possessed all the attraction and all the failings of a non-commercial race. Industrial veracity was as lacking among them as among the Irish. Intermarriage was deliberately encouraged by the Portuguese authorities but did not prove a success.

6. His Excellency invited discussion on the subject of the lecture even if only to give Mr. Pieris a chance of replying.

7. Mr. Armand de Souza said: As they looked back on Portuguese rule three or four centuries ago and viewed in proper perspective the difficulties which confronted them in the administration of the country, he thought that they were somewhat unfair to the Portuguese if they forgot that it was a period of incessant warfare.

One of the most convincing tests of the character of the Portuguese rule in the East was the fact that, in spite of anxiety and trouble through incessant warfare, they had contrived to leave behind them memorials, which two other European nations had not been able to efface. For one thing, Mr. Pieris and he himself (the speaker) though coming from different parts of the East, bore Portuguese names. The Portuguese language still lingered in these lands, while the faith planted by the Portuguese was as vigorous as when they taught it.

He did not wish to say one word with regard to the Sinhalese people of the time, being incompetent to pronounce an opinion. He did not say that Mr. Pieris was unjust, either; but all of them were subject to the influence of unconscious bias. When the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon they had to learn a great deal, which subsequent nations profited by. Therefore they should not be altogether ungrateful to Portuguese rule in Ceylon.

He offered those criticisms merely to give Mr. Pieris the chance of replying, as His Excellency had suggested.

8. His Excellency: Will somebody else show the same spirit of benevolence for Mr. Pieris.

9. Mr. W. SAMARASINGHE remarked, that Mr. Pieris undoubtedly possessed the largest stock of material on the period which he had dealt with, but he ventured to think that he had been too enthusiastic in drawing conclusions.

The local histories were comparatively bare in their record of the doings of the Portuguese. We arrived at the details principally through the Portuguese writers and the severest indictment against the Portuguese was furnished by the Portuguese themselves. He urged that whenever a document of the past was utilised as evidence full allowance should be made to the attending circumstances. If a future historian were to read through a file of Ceylon newspapers and attempt to reconstruct the British official from that material he would probably not succeed in drawing a correct portrait of them. The character of a newspaper brings the points chosen for criticism out of their due proportion. Similarly when Portuguese writers, after the loss of their valued possession, dilated on the excesses of their countrymen, it is probable that they were not reflecting the manner of life of all the Portuguese.

The Portuguese undoubtedly did commit many acts of cruelty and oppression, but the task which confronted them of conquering a civilised people for the benefit of the conquerors may have involved the necessity for such acts. But in spite of these

admitted blots there may have been a less objectionable side to their character in ordinary every-day life which did not find adequate expression in the records which we possessed.

While saying this much he could not agree with Mr. Souza that the Portuguese had earned the gratitude of the people of Ceylon. The hold which the Portuguese language and customs gained over the country merely marked their earlier advent and long monopoly, but did not necessarily indicate any virtue which entitled them to gratitude.

10. Mr. A. E. ROBERTS said, the failure of the Portuguese rule in Ceylon can be traced to four causes, and they are: utter selfishness, self aggrandisement, a want of sympathy with the people over whom they ruled, and extreme cruelty. The most salient feature of their rule, one which more than any other contributed to cripple their success as colonisers, was their cruelty. For one hundred and fifty years this scourge lashed the people of Ceylon.

At the time of the Portuguese invasion, the Sinhalese were in their decadence. Fifteen centuries of great civilization, coupled with tenets of the most merciful philosophy ever taught by man, had mollified the fighting propensities of the Sinhalese people and it was only the cruelties of the Portuguese that coerced them to unbending resistance and deeds of daring which challenged the admiration of the Portuguese. The greatest mistake the Portuguese committed was to put the civilized Sinhalese man on the same footing with the barbarian Kaffir of Mosambique.

11. Dr. A. NELL said, it gave him great pleasure to propose the thanks of the Society to Mr. Paul Pieris, whose exceptional knowledge of the Portuguese period in Ceylon had been of great value to the Society. The speaker therefore differed from the three gentlemen who had preceded him regarding any unconscious bias, the lecturer having, he believed, narrated facts obtained by historical research and not merely stated opinions. The period Mr. Paul Pieris dealt with in this lecture was not solely all we knew of the Portuguese as colonisers. Episodes of Portuguese history in other parts of Asia made one admire the gallant adventurers, who with true courage ventured into unknown seas in small sailing vessels, braved the great perils of a long voyage, and occupied great tracts of country against overwhelming odds.

The failure and decay in Ceylon of Portuguese rule was associated with corruption and failure in their mother country, just as in the later years of the Roman Empire, plunder and corruption in the provinces could be traced to the disintegration of honest Government in Rome itself.

12. Mr. W. A. DE SILVA had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Mr. Pieris.

13. His EXCELLENCY: It has been proposed and seconded that a vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Pieris. If it is your wish, ladies and gentlemen, that it should be given, kindly show it in the usual way.

14. The vote was carried with acclamation.

15. HIS EXCELLENCY: Mr. Pieris, I do not know whether it is necessary for me to be the intermediary to convey that vote of thanks to you but I do so, merely to give you the chance, should you wish it, to reply to the comments.

16. MR. PIERIS: I am very much obliged to you, Sir, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, for your kind vote of thanks.

I sincerely hope that Mr. Samarasinghe and Mr. de Souza will combine and bring out an appreciation of the Portuguese for our future benefit.

17. MR. HARWARD: Ladies and gentlemen, I have had assigned to me the extremely pleasant duty of proposing to His Excellency a vote of thanks for coming here and taking the chair on this occasion.

It is a great pleasure to all Members of this Society to have in our midst one who not only sympathises with the studies which this Society is intended to promote, but has been, and still is, an ardent student himself. (Applause.)

I am sure I am stating the views of you all when I express the hope that His Excellency will not merely come and preside on many occasions, but also add his quota to the contributions which are embodied in the Journals of this Society (applause). I hope also that the fact of having such a distinguished scholar as their Patron will encourage the Members of the Society to throw themselves heartily into the various researches which some of them are well qualified to carry out, and that the period of His Excellency's patronship will be a period of activity on the part of the Society. (Loud applause.)

18. SIR S. C. OBEYESEKARA in seconding said, that when they heard that His Excellency was to be their Governor his coming was hailed with delight. They knew that he was one who took great interest in matters Asiatic. Their Society was a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. When they came to realise that His Excellency knew more of Páli than very many of them, it was proof that before he thought of coming to Ceylon he had taken interest in the literature of the East.

19. The vote was carried with acclamation.

20. HIS EXCELLENCY, replying, said:—Mr. Harward, ladies and gentlemen: The President of the Society was quite right when he said that I approached this subject with sympathy. I approached it with sympathy that I hope has been equalled, I am sure has not been surpassed, by any of my predecessors as Governors of this Colony.

Asiatic matters have for me for many years, when leisure was more frequent, been a very great solace and of abiding interest until the rough pressure of affairs curtailed my leisure, precluding me from the pursuit of those scholarly lines which now, in my mature judgment, represent one of the greatest joys of life. (Applause.)

It is my hope that others coming on—younger men—whether Civil Servants, persons engaged in professions or people engaged in no profession, but enjoying the gift of leisure to me long past, may carry on the torch and be interested and deal with their business in a scholarly spirit, so as to see its true bearing and appreciate the details of which they have to administer, dealing with those details with an intellectual comprehension of what lies behind the world of thought.

I recommend that spirit very much to those who enjoy the benefit of youth, now passed from me, and I hope among those who are Civil Servants here that there will be a succession—never yet wanting among Englishmen in the East—of men who have had sympathy with the institutions and the learning of the people among whom their lot is cast, especially the men who find themselves living alone, so far as European society is concerned.

Those people will find—I trust they will believe me in this—in the garnering in of the harvest of opportunities of knowledge which lie at their solitary doors, they will find in that the greatest respite from the tedium which would otherwise overcome them, and they will find in that the greatest opportunity of advancing their own inner and spiritual nature, and with it the advancement of the sympathy with which alone they can hope to be good and true and useful rulers of the people among whom they live. With that I thank you. (Applause.)

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, December 18, 1913.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesékara, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

The Right Revd. C. A. Copleston, D.D.

The Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

Mr. F. J. de Mel, M.A., LL.B.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. Donald Obeyesékara, M.A.

Mr. James Pieris, M.A., LL.M.

Mr. John M. Senaveratna.

Mr. A. N. Galbraith, C.C.S.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, C.C.S.

} Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on 28th November, 1913.

2. Laid on the table and considered new Rules and Regulations passed by the Council and circulated among the Members:—

(i) Mr. C. W. Horsfall moved that in Rule No. 28, line 2, that the word "ten" be altered to "five," so as to limit a speaker to five minutes. Seconded by Mr. A. N. Galbraith.—Motion lost.

(ii.) Proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Mr. E. W. Perera that in Rule No. 30 the word "Requisition" be altered to "request."—Adopted.

(iii.) Proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Dr. Nell that in Rule 36, that at the end, the words "provided matter is available" be added.—Adopted.

(iv.) Proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Mr. G. A. Joseph that in Rule 45, after January 1, the word "in" be deleted, and "of" be substituted.—Adopted.

(v.) Proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Dr. Nell that in Rule 46 the following words be added: "and may in special circumstances suspend the operation of Rule No. 42."—Adopted.

(vi.) The Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh moved, and Mr. C. W. Horsfall seconded, that the following be substituted for Rule 48:—

(vii.) “The Rules of the Society shall not be added to, altered or repealed, except at a General Meeting at which at least fifteen Members are present, nor unless at least two-thirds of the Members present shall vote for such addition, alteration or repeal.”—Adopted.

(viii.) Resolved, on a motion proposed by Sir Christoffel Obeyesékara, and seconded by the Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh,—That the Rules as amended at this Meeting be adopted and passed.

(ix.) A vote of thanks to the Chair concluded the proceedings of the Meeting.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

FOUNDED AS THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF CEYLON,
FEBRUARY 7, 1845, INCORPORATED WITH THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND, FEBRUARY 7, 1846.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.*

THE SOCIETY AND ITS MEMBERS.

1. The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the history, religions, languages, literature, arts, sciences and social condition of the present and former inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

2. The Society shall consist of Ordinary Members, who may be either Resident or Non-resident, and Honorary Members.

3. Members residing in Ceylon shall be considered Resident. Members who do not reside in the Island, or who may be absent from it for a year or upwards, shall be considered Non-resident.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

4. Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member of the Society shall be nominated by two or more Members, (of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member) who shall give the candidate's name, address and occupation, and shall state whether such candidate desires to be admitted as a Resident or Non-resident Member.

* Passed at General Meeting of December 18th, 1913.

5. The nomination shall remain exposed in the Library for at least ten days before the day of the Meeting of the Council; and the names of the candidates for election and of their proposers and seconders shall be attached to the notice summoning the Meeting of Council. The Council will not consider any objection brought by others than Members of the Council unless such objection is made in writing and communicated to the Honorary Secretary at least three days before such Meeting.

6. The decision of the Council on the claims of a candidate nominated for election as an Ordinary Member, and on any objection made thereto, and as to whether he should be admitted a Resident or Non-resident Member, shall be final. The names of Members elected by the Council shall be announced at the next General Meeting of the Society.

7. Every newly elected Ordinary Member shall be promptly informed of his election, and he shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of the Rules. He shall not be entitled to any of the privileges of Membership until he shall have paid his entrance fee and subscription for the current year or compounded for the same as hereinafter provided.

8. Any Member may resign his Membership by sending to the Secretary notice in writing. The resignation of a Member shall not take effect until he shall have discharged any liabilities due by him to the Society; unless these be waived, or remitted, by the Council. If the Member resigning be a Member paying Annual Subscription, then, further, unless his notice of resignation shall reach the Secretary before the 1st January of any year, his resignation shall not take effect until he shall have paid the subscription due from him for that year.

9. Foreign Societies and Institutions may on application be placed on the List of Members, and will, on payment of the same subscription as Non-resident Members, be entitled to receive the Publications of the Society.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

10. Any person who has rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society shall be eligible as an Honorary Member for life.

11. Honorary Members shall be elected only on the nomination of the Council at a General Meeting of the Society.

12. There shall not be at one time more than twelve Honorary Members of the Society.

13. An Honorary Member so elected shall be informed of the election by letter bearing the seal of the Society and signed by the President and one of the Honorary Secretaries.

14. Honorary Members shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of Ordinary Members.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY.

15. At each Annual General Meeting the Society shall, subject to the following Rules, elect a Council to direct and manage the concerns of the Society for the period commencing with the day immediately after such Meeting and ending with the day of the next such Meeting. The term year in the ensuing Rules signifies the aforesaid period.

16. The Council shall be elected from among the Ordinary and Honorary Members of the Society, and shall consist of a President, not more than three Vice-Presidents, and not more than three Honorary Secretaries, an Honorary Treasurer, and twelve Ordinary Members. Provided that no one shall be appointed to be a Vice-President, who has not already had at least one year's service on the Council.

17. The President shall be appointed to hold office for three years from the date of his election, and shall be elected under Rule 21 only on any occasion when a vacancy occurs. A retiring President shall be eligible for immediate re-election, either to the same office or to any other position on the Council.

18. The senior Vice-President, in order of longest continuous service as such and having had not less than four years' service as Vice-President, shall retire, and shall not be eligible for re-election as Vice-President until at least one year shall have expired between his retirement and such re-election; but he shall be eligible for immediate re-election to the Council in any other capacity. If there shall be two or more Vice-Presidents with equal periods of longest continuous service, it shall

be decided by mutual consent, or by drawing lots, which of them shall retire.

19. The Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer shall be eligible for re-election to these offices respectively from year to year; if not so re-elected, the retiring Honorary Secretaries and Honorary Treasurer shall be eligible for immediate re-election to the Council in any other capacity.

20. Of the twelve Members of the Council who are not Honorary Officers of the Society, four Members shall retire annually, two by seniority, and two by reason of least attendance. Of the four retiring Members two shall be eligible for immediate re-election and two for re-election after the lapse of one year.

21. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or Members of the Council during the interval between two Annual General Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council, and the Council's appointment shall hold good till the Annual General Meeting.

22. At Meetings of the Council the chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President present, or, in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, by some other Member of the Council. Four Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

23. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by the Council, subject to the control of the Society. The Council shall have power to appoint Committees for special purposes and to report upon specific questions, and shall have power to decide what number shall form a quorum of such Committees. The Council may also appoint paid Officers to execute special duties in connection with the working of the Society.

24. The Honorary Treasurer shall keep an account of all moneys received and paid by him on account of the Society, and submit a statement thereof to the Council. The accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor to be appointed by the Council, and the Auditor's report shall be read at the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

25. The Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held in March, to receive and consider a Report

of the Council on the state of the Society; to receive the accounts of the Honorary Treasurer and the Report of the Auditors thereon; to elect the Council for the ensuing year; to deliberate on such other questions as may relate to the regulation, management, or pecuniary affairs of the Society; and to transact any other business fixed by the Council.

26. At General Meetings the chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President present or some other Member of the Council. Provided that if the Governor of Ceylon for the time being be present, His Excellency shall be requested to take the chair. Five members shall form a quorum.

27. The course of business at General Meetings shall be as follows:—

- (a) The Minutes of the preceding Meeting shall be read, and, on being accepted as accurate, shall be signed by the Chairman.
- (b) Donations presented to the Society, and books acquired, shall be announced or laid before the Meeting.
- (c) Any specific and particular business which the Council may have appointed for the consideration of the Meeting shall be discussed.
- (d) Any question relating to the regulation, arrangement or pecuniary affairs of the Society, of which fourteen days' notice in writing signed by five Members shall have been given to one of the Honorary Secretaries, shall be discussed.

(e) Papers and communications shall be read.

28. No speaker taking part in a discussion shall be allowed to speak more than ten minutes unless specially permitted to do so by the Chairman.

29. Every Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing visitors at a General Meeting, either personally (in which case the names of such visitors should be notified to one of the Honorary Secretaries) or by a card to be handed to one of the Honorary Secretaries containing the name of each visitor and of the introducing Member.

30. General Meetings shall be convened by the Council at its discretion, or upon the written request of ten Members of the Society.

Public notice shall be given of General Meetings, and at least seven days' notice, together with an intimation of any special business which is to be brought forward for consideration under sub-sections (c) and (d) of Rule No. 27, shall be given to Resident Members.

PAYMENT BY MEMBERS.

31. Every Resident Member shall pay on admission an entrance fee of Rs. 5.25, and as subscription in advance for the current year a sum of Rs. 10.50.

32. Every Non-resident Member shall pay an entrance fee of Rs. 5.25, and as subscription in advance for the current year Rs. 5.25. Provided that in the case of Members admitted in the last quarter of any year the subscription for that year shall be remitted.

33. The annual subscription shall be due on January 1st of each year and must be paid not later than March 31st of each year. If a Member's subscription remains unpaid on the 31st of December his name shall be removed from the List of Members unless the Council shall otherwise decide.

34. The following compositions are allowed in lieu of the annual subscriptions due by Resident Members and Non-resident Members, and payment thereof shall entitle to Membership for life, viz :—

	Resident Members.		Non-resident Members.	
	Rs.	C.	Rs.	C.
Upon election ...	115	50	60	50
After two annual payments	84	00	42	00
After four do ...	73	50	36	75
After six do ...	62	00	31	00
After ten or more do ...	50	00	25	00

35. The Publications of the Society shall not be forwarded to any Member until his subscription for the current year has been paid.

PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS.

36. The Society shall from time to time publish a Journal containing Papers, illustrations, notes, or letters on subjects submitted to, or discussed before, the Society, together with all proceedings of the meetings of the

Council and General Meetings. "Notes and Queries" shall also be issued quarterly in connection with the Journal provided matter is available.

37. The Council shall have the power to decide on the admission of Papers into the Journal, or on their being read at the General Meetings of the Society. Notice of the receipt of a Paper shall be sent without delay to every Member of the Council. A Paper when once accepted may not be altered before it is read, except by the author.

38. The Honorary Secretaries shall edit the Journal and send a copy to each Member of the Society entitled thereto whose address is known.

39. The author of any Paper published in the Journal shall be entitled to twenty-five copies of such Paper.

40. To those who are interested in, and to those whose studies have lain in the direction of, the subject of the Paper, a confidential copy will be sent on application to the Honorary Secretary.

THE LIBRARY.

41. The Library will be open on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., on Saturday, till 2 p.m., and on Sundays from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., and at other hours as shall be notified; but not on Christmas Day, New Year's Day, and Government holidays.

42. Every Resident Member shall be at liberty to borrow any books from the Library, except such works as are reserved for use in the Library itself.

43. For every book so borrowed a receipt shall be signed by the Member borrowing it.

44. No Member shall borrow at the same time more than three works, without the special permission of one of the Honorary Secretaries.

45. Books borrowed may be retained for a month. If not asked for during this period, the loan may be renewed by the Member signing a fresh receipt. All books borrowed shall be returned to the Library before January 1 of each year.

46. The Council may, by special Resolution, on such terms as it thinks fit, sanction the loan of manuscripts or of works reserved for use in the Library; and may in special circumstances, suspend the operation of Rule 42.

MISCELLANEOUS.

47. Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland shall be entitled to the use of the Library on the same terms as Ordinary Members of this Society, and to attend the Meetings of the Society. If desirous of joining this Society, they are eligible for admission without the formalities prescribed by Rule 4.

48. The Rules of the Society shall not be added to, altered or repealed except at a General Meeting at which at least fifteen Members are present, nor unless at least two-thirds of the Members present shall vote for such addition, alteration or repeal.

December 18, 1913.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

CEYLON NOTES AND QUERIES.

PREFACE.

The Circular issued in February 1913, and reprinted here, shows the object with which the present Publication is started. It is hoped that it will secure not only the publication of interesting matter, but also its preservation in a form which will render future reference possible.

Our contributors will lighten the task of the editors, if they will attach full and correct references to all quotations, and to all matter which has appeared elsewhere.

It is scarcely necessary to say that this supplement to the Society's Journal is not intended to be a vehicle for reissuing matter which already exists in an accessible form in such Publications as *The Ceylon Literary Register*, *The Orientalist*, *Lawrie's Gazetteer*, &c. Extracts from sources of this kind will only appear when a contributor has fresh light to throw upon the subject.

Some difficulty will be found in discriminating between a Note and a Paper.

Some of the contributions already sent in are more of the length of a Paper than of a Note: one has already been read as a Paper at a Meeting of the Society, and its publication is deferred till the next issue of the Journal.

This section of the Journal is specially intended for those shorter contributions which may serve the purpose of breaking new ground, starting questions on which light can be thrown by others, and providing material which may be of use to those who are working on a more extensive scale.

J. HARWARD,

President,

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch



CEYLON NOTES AND QUERIES.

CIRCULAR.

Owing to the recent formation of the Ceylon Natural History Society, and the admission into the "*Spolia Zeylanica*" of Notes bearing on archæology, history, and similar subjects connected with the Island, the Ceylon Asiatic Society has been necessarily affected, and the field of contributions to its Journal considerably narrowed.

2. At the desire of the Council of the Asiatic Society, Dr. J. Pearson, Director of the Colombo Museum, has kindly consented to omit in future from the "*Spolia Zeylanica*," Notes, &c., bearing on archæology, history, and the like, on the understanding that the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society will print such communications, if possible, quarterly.

3. The Council has therefore decided to give effect at once to the following Resolution of Council passed on May 2nd, 1912, viz:—

"Dr. Nell moved that the Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society do contain Notes and short contributions, and that it do appear more frequently, if possible."

"The Council agreed that in future Notes be published in the Journal, after being accepted by the President and Secretaries."

4. It is proposed to issue quarterly, in connection with the Society's Journal, "*Ceylon Notes and Queries*," and to republish them as a Supplement to the Journal at the end of each year.

5. Members of the Society who may find themselves unable to write full Papers for the Journal will, it is hoped, readily respond to this invitation to contribute "Notes and Queries," however short, on any of the subjects within the purview of the Society.

6. All such communications should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, R.A.S. (C.B.), Colombo Museum.

J. HARWARD,
President,
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

PLATE I.



OBVERSE.




REVERSE.

Philippus: A. D. 1652.

No. 1.—A PHILIPPUS.

The silver coin described below was purchased recently in Colombo :—

Obv.—Bust of Philip IV. of Spain in armour to right, within two bead circles, PHIL. IIII. D.G. HISP. ET INDIAR. REX, and on top the date 1652 divided by a fleur-de-lys, the mint mark of Ryssel.

Rev.—Crowned coat-of-arms, supported by two lions, the Golden Fleece pendent. Within similar circles, ARCHID. AUST.DUX.BURG.CO.FLAND. .

Weight.—32.522 grammes : diameter, 43.5 mm.

The legend expanded runs :—Philippus IV. Dei gratia Hispaniarum et Indiarum Rex, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae, Comes Flandriae, etc.

The mint mark and the termination of the royal title show that this piece was struck for the use of the Spanish Netherlands.

It is therefore a Filips-daalder, Philippus, or Zilveren Reaal, a coin first struck by Philip II. in the Low Countries as the equivalent in silver of the half Gouden Reaal, and the predecessor of the Dutch ducatoon with which it agrees in size and weight. Its original value of 30 stuivers had risen to 52 by 1611. In 1648 and 1652 the use of Brabant Kruisdaalders and of ducatoons “nu en dan in Indie gecomen,” presumably the coin under discussion, was tolerated in the Dutch settlements in the East at the rate of 50 and 63 stuivers each respectively : in 1715 a new Brabant ducatoon or Philippus was current for 13 schellings or 78 stuivers, the rate at which the ducatoon of the United Provinces circulated.

The coat-of-arms is interesting as it retains the shield of Portugal which had been lost to King Philip in 1640 :—

Coupé.—The chief per pale :

1. Quarterly, Castile and Leon : 2. per pale, Aragon and Sicily : the point enté of Granada ; over all an escutcheon of Portugal.

The base quarterly :

1. Austria : 2. Burgundy modern : 3. Burgundy ancient : 4. Brabant : over all an escutcheon, per pale : Flanders and Tyrol.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

No. 2.—DHARNA.

François Valentyn (*Beschryving van Ceylon*, page 48) says :—

Buyten deze hebben zy nog meer andre gewoonten, om de schuldenaars tot betaaling te dwingen, van welke geenzins eene de minste is, dat de schuldeyschers den schuldenaar dreigen zich zelven te vergeven, waar voor hy dan zou moeten boeten.

Whether such a custom as that referred to, viz., of the creditor compelling payment by threatening the debtor that he (the creditor) will poison himself if payment is not made, ever existed in Ceylon, is doubtful.

This is of course the Indian practice of sitting *dharna*, which is now an offence under the Indian Penal Code, section 508.

F. H. DE Vos.

No. 3.—ANCIENT DOORWAYS AND PILLARS.

In November, 1912, when in the Kandyan District in connection with the “Monograph on Flags” being prepared by the Colombo Museum, I visited Kuṇḍasāla, Degaldoruwa and Malwatté Temples among others. From these Temples I was

PLATE II.



Carved Woodwork from Kandyan Temples.

able to secure some fine specimens of Kandyan carved doorways and pillars.*

At Kuṇḍasāla Temple there was a heap of ancient carved doorways and pillars in a dilapidated open shed being eaten by white ants. Among them I found the beautiful top of a doorway with the *haṇsa* floral design and the *aturu haraskadé*. The *makara* abounds in Sinhalese architecture above doors and images. This one is a beautiful *makara toraṇa* forming the central feature in an arch with two *haṇsas* (mythical sacred goose) with sprays of foliaceous ornament. These are said to have belonged to the Palace of King Naréन्द्रa Siṅha. They were presented by Rambukwellé Medankara, Incumbent of Kuṇḍasāla Viháré.

Kuṇḍasāla is a village in Uḍagampaha Kóralé, Lower Dumbara. Śrī Vira Parákrama Naréन्द्रa Siṅha reigned 1701 to 1734 A.D., and had his Palace at Kuṇḍasāla. He was the son of the preceding King Vimala Dharma Súriya of Kandy. Forbes in his eleven years in Ceylon (Vol. II. p. 117) says :—

“ Four miles from Kandy, on the opposite bank of the river,
“ are the remains of the palace of Kundasale, the residence of Sri
“ Wira Parakrama Narendra Sinha, the last King of the Sinhalese
“ race. The buildings at Kundasale were burnt by the
“ detachment of troops under the command of Captain Johnson
“ in 1804.”

The Náta Déválé in Kandy was also built by Naréन्द्रa Siṅha. This King married a Princess of Madura. At Kuṇḍasāla Viháré I saw the best specimens of old ivory carved *ola* book covers. The temple has many valuable antiques presented by Kings Naréन्द्रa Siṅha and Kirti Śrī Rāja Siṅha, especially a beautiful awning cloth worked in gold.

The Degoldoruwa pillar is of satinwood. It was presented by Amunugama Piṇaratna Terunnánse. This Viháré is built at the foot of a mass of rock about 40 ft. high. In the inner part of the Temple is a large recumbent figure of Buddha in a cave.

* Plate II.

The two pillars from Malwatté Temple were found imbedded in a wall which came down in the premises. These pillars are believed to have been originally in a temple built by King Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṅha for the Hierarch, Welleviṭṭiye Saṅgharāja Mahā Nāyaka. They were got for the Museum through the kindness of T. Medankara Terunnānsé who obtained the consent of the High Priest for their removal.

I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate, and to Mr. Herat Perera, Muhandiram, for much assistance in securing the specimens for the Museum.

GERARD A. JOSEPH.

No. 4.—A NOTE ON THE “MAHAWANSA.”

King Paṇḍukābhaya, after defeating his uncles, chose Anurādhapura as his capital and proceeded to lay out the general plan of the town. Near the West gate he placed the “ground set apart for the Yonas.”*

GEIGER[†] says of the word *Yonasabhāgavatthu* that its meaning is extremely doubtful :—

“It would mean ‘common dwelling ground of the Yonas or Greeks.’ It is not probable, that four centuries B.C., already at Pandukābhaya’s time, Greeks had settled in Ceylon, but the building erected by that king may afterwards have served as a dwelling place for foreigners and may have got its name from this fact.”

In India the word *Yona* or *Yavana* was originally applied to the Asiatic Greeks but by the second century A.D. it was used to denote any foreigners coming from the North Western frontier;‡ and so in MONIER WILLIAM’S Sanskrit Dictionary we find *Yavana*

“An Ionian, Greek, . . . a Muhammadan (sometimes applied to both the Muhammadan and European invaders of India as coming from the same quarter); any foreigner; . . . The country

* GEIGER: *Mahāvamsa* (Translation), p. 74, ch. x., v. 90.

† GEIGER: *Mahāvamsa* (Pali) Introduction, p. liv.

‡ V. A. SMITH: *History of India*, 1908, p. 199.

of the Yavanas, sometimes applied to Bactria, Ionia, Greece, and more recently to Arabia."

On turning to CHILDERS' *Pāli-English Dictionary* we find that *Yono* and *Yavano* are given as meaning "foreign, barbarian; Ionian, Greek"; but he gives further an important note:—

"At the present day the name *Yona* is applied by the Singhalese to the 'Moormen' or Arabs settled in Ceylon. . . . The date palm is called by the Singhalese *Yōn-Iṇḍī* (*Yona-sindī*);" and CLOUGH (*Singhalese-English Dictionary*) also gives "*Yon* . Elu form of *Yōni* and *Yavana* or Arabia."

The Tamil form of the word as used by the Moors of Ceylon is *Sōṇakaṇ* or *Sōṇaṇ*.*

At the time when Paṇḍukābhaya reigned (377-307 B.C.)† the word *Yona* would be only used in its original meaning, just as in the third century, B.C., King Aśoka of India uses the name to describe Antiochos Theos and the other contemporary Hellenistic monarchs;‡ and, as GEIGER says, it is difficult to imagine that there were at that time a large enough Colony of Greek traders to warrant the setting apart of a piece of land for their special use.

But we must remember that the *Mahāwaṇsa* was probably composed at the beginning of the sixth century, A.D., as a sort of commentary on the *Dīparaṇsa*,§ and the learned composer may well have interpolated or added from some later work the details of the laying out of the city by Paṇḍukābhaya, anachronistically portraying features more appropriate to his own time. If we accept this view there is no reason why we should not translate *Yona* by 'foreigner' and consider that before the sixth century, A.D., there existed a foreign quarter to the West of Anurādhapura. But who were these foreigners?

* Cf also WINSLOW: *Tamil-English Dictionary*—சோனாண்
'one of a low tribe among the Mohammedans or Moors'.

† GEIGER: *Mahāwaṇsa* (Trans.) Introduction, p. xxxvi.

‡ V. A. SMITH: *History of India*, 1908, p. 199.

§ GEIGER: *Mahāwaṇsa* (Trans.) Introduction, pp. xi. and xii.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien visited Ceylon at the beginning of the fifth century, A.D., and was greatly struck with the town of Anurádhapura. In special he notices the houses of the Sabaean merchants which were beautifully adorned.*

The Chinese word here used is *Sa-po* and BEAL (who first translated it as 'Sabaean') considers that it refers to merchants of Saba or Arabia.† LEGGE, who follows his translation adds, in a note:—"I suppose the merchants were Arabs, pre-runners of the so-called Moormen, who still form an important part of the mercantile community of Ceylon."‡

KLAPROTH and REMUSAT did not translate the word but suggested that *Sa-pho* might be the Chinese form of a Sinhalese expression.§

The Sanskrit values of the Chinese are given by LEGGE as *Sá*, and *vá*, *bo*, or *bhá*.|| It is worth considering whether we have not here the Chinese equivalent of *Yavana*, *Yona*, or *Sóna*, though, in any case, I am inclined to translate both *Yona* and *Sa-po* as 'Arab', and regard the colony outside Anurádhapura as the predecessors of the present Moormen. Their descendants, as we have seen, are still given the name of *Yona* by the Sinhalese.

As we have seen the reading adopted by GEIGER is *Yona-sabhágavatthu* and other readings such as *Yena sabhágavatthu* and *Yojana sabhágavatta* are obviously corruptions of this. But in the readings *So naṇ sabhágavattha*, *So taṇ sabhágavatthu*, and *Sonnasabhágavattha*,¶ I am tempted to see misspellings of *Soṇa* the Tamil form of the word *Yona* as applied to themselves by the Moors.

EDWARD R. AYRTON.

* BEAL, *Travels of Fa-Hien and Sung-yun*, p. 154; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Introduction, p. lxxiv; LEGGE, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*. p. 104. KLAPROTH and REMUSAT, *Pilgrimage of Fa-Hien*, p. 334.

† BEAL, *Travels of Fa-Hien and Sung-yun*, p. 154. Note 2.

‡ *Loc. cit.* p. 104. Note 2.

§ *Loc. cit.* p. 343. Note 15.

|| *Loc. cit.* p. 104. Note 2.

¶ GEIGER: *Mahāvamsa* (Pali) ch. 10., v. 90 and note.

No. 8.—MR. SALMON ON CEYLON.

A fairly rare work (now in my possession) is that published in 1739,—174 years ago,—entitled “Modern History, or the Present State of All Nations, describing Their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws, and Customs, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals and Minerals, being the most complete and correct System of Geography and Modern History extant in any Language. By Mr. Salmon. Illustrated with Cuts and Maps accurately drawn according to the Geographical Part of this Work. By Herman Moll.—Printed for Messrs. Bettesworth and Hitch in *Paternoster Row*; J. Clarke under the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*; S. Birt in *Ave Mary Lane*; Tho. Wotton over against *St. Dunstan’s Church*, and J. Shuckburgh next the *Inner Temple Gate*, both in *Fleetstreet*; and T. Osborne in *Gray’s Inn*. M.DCC., XXXIX.”

Considering that the work is a “System of Geography and Modern History” of the entire world, Mr. Salmon has, in comparison with other countries, a good deal to say of “The Present State of the Island of Ceylone” to which he devotes eight chapters running into something like 20 pages (pp. 341-364). That he was a shrewd observer is evident from almost every page, as is also the generally correct and fairly reliable nature of his information.*

The following extracts may, perhaps, not prove wholly uninteresting.

Referring to the “Cinglasses, their genius and temper”, he says:—

(They) ’tis said, do not want courage, and are men of quick parts, complaisant and insinuating in their address, naturally grave, of an even temper, not easily moved, and when they happen to be in a passion, soon reconciled again; they are very

* [Based very greatly on Knox’ *Ceylon*, 1681.—Ed. Sec.]

temperate in their diet, neat in their apparel, something nice in their eating, and do not indulge in sleep; but though they commend industry much, like the natives of other hot countries, they are a little inclined to laziness; they are not given to theft, but intolerably addicted to lying, and have not much regard to what they promise; they allow their women great liberty, and are seldom jealous; they are extremely superstitious and great observers of omens; if they see a white man or a great belly'd woman at their first going out in a morning, they promise themselves success in what they undertake; sneezing is an ill omen, and if they hear a certain little animal, like a lizard, cry, they look upon it to be so unfortunate, that they will not proceed in what they are about for some time after.

Of the "Habits of the Women" he writes:—

The women go in their hair combed behind their heads, and oil it with coco-nut oil; they have a waist coat flourished, which fits close to their bodies, and shows their shape. A piece of callico they wrap about them which falls below their knees, and is longer or shorter according to their quality. They have jewels in their ears, in which they bore great holes, and stretch them like their neighbours of Cormandel. They have necklaces and bracelets on their arms, and rings in abundance on their fingers and toes, and about their waists have a girdle or two of silver wire and plate. They have a stately mien, but are however very obliging and condescending to their inferiors, and converse freely with them; when they go abroad they throw a piece of striped silk over their heads, as our women do their hoods.

Of the "Cinnamon tree" Mr. Salmon has a good deal to say that is at once interesting and original. His references to the Dutch are by no means complimentary to those "Lords of all the seas of the world," as they styled themselves then. He says:—

I cannot but lament the negligence of my countrymen, in making no attempts to procure a settlement in this island, when they knew the consequences of it, and it lay open to them for so many years together. It is not at this day much above three score years since the Dutch monopolised this trade to themselves, and excluded the rest of the world from this charming

island. It is impossible to sail by it without being under a concern that we must never set a foot on shore in this earthly paradise, but be excluded by that boorish race who have usurped the possession of it.... Our merchants seem to have been so terrified with the unheard of cruelties of the Dutch at Amboyna, that they durst not put in for a part of the cinnamon trade at Ceylone.

Mr. Salmon is as enthusiastic over Ceylon's "Spicy breezes" as he is positive that her men are not "vile":—

When I sailed by this island in my voyage from the Coast of Cormandel, we had not touched at any land for about four months, and the evening before we made Ceylone, when our best artists on board were confident we were a hundred miles from that or any other land, the air was so extremely sweet, so replenished with fragrant smells, that I was morally sure we must be near some land: I called up several of my fellow travellers hereupon, who regaled their smelling faculty in the same manner, and it was the general opinion that this must proceed from the cinnamon groves in Ceylone.

The ancient history of Ceylon Mr. Salmon dismisses in a paragraph; but to its modern history he devotes something more than a page.

With reference to the successful siege of Colombo by the combined efforts of the Sinhalese and the Dutch, Mr. Salmon writes:—

The same year (1655) the Dutch and the Cinglasses with their united forces, laid siege to Columbo on the south-west part of the island, being the capital of all the Portuguese settlements. This place the Portuguese defended very well for a whole year, under the disadvantage of a famine, and the want of many necessaries: however, the city of Columbo at length surrendered upon articles the eleventh of May 1656, and the Dutch took possession of it with their troops, excluding the King from any share in their conquest, tho' they had expressly stipulated to deliver Columbo into his hands, according to a letter, from that Prince to their General, translated and printed by the Hollanders themselves, which I shall here insert, to shew that the Dutch have no other right to this island, but what they gained by force and treachery.

LETTER.*

The Letter of the King of Ceylone to the Dutch General, upon his taking possession of Columbo.

“Our Imperial Majesty being very desirous to introduce the Dutch nation into our dominions, Adam Westerworld came on this coast with a squadron of ships, just as we had made ourselves masters of Batecalo, when we thought fit to conclude a peace with him, which being confirmed by oath, was but slenderly observed by some officers afterwards: as for instance, by Capt. Burchart Kocks, alias Coque (who was killed by a soldier at Puntegale) and commissary Peter Kieft, who being sent as plenipotentiaries to our court, did confirm the before mentioned peace by oath, pursuant to which at their departure for Gale, they took along with them one of our Dissauva’s, in order to deliver into his hands the country of Mature; but at his coming there they found means to render the same ineffectual, by finding out certain difficulties, which made the said Dissauva return to our court to our great dissatisfaction. It was about that time that our beloved Director General did come into our kingdom from Holland, with full power to act as he should find it suitable to our service, and to the establishment of a firm peace and friendship, pursuant to which he desired us to bury all past miscarriages in oblivion, promising at the same time, in the name of the Prince of Orange and the East-India Company, full satisfaction for the same; as also that the fortresses of Negumbo and Columbo (when taken) should be delivered into the hands of our Imperial Majesty, and certain Hollanders to be allotted in the said places for our service. ’Tis upon this account that we sent our auxiliaries to assist our dearly beloved Hollanders in the taking of Columbo; which being taken, since they are become forgetful of their promise, and do continue to do so to this day, your Excellency is left at your own liberty to do what you think fit, till notice of this proceeding can be given to the Prince of Orange, and the honourable company: but I would have you remember, that

*[Mr. Salmon has “lifted” this letter bodily from Baldaeus “Translated from the *High Dutch*, printed at Amsterdam, 1672.” Chap. xli. pp. 698-9.—*Ed. Sec.*]

such as don't know God and keep their word, will one time or other be sensible of the ill consequences thereof. I am sensible I have God on my side."

POSTSCRIPT.

"Two letters have been dispatched from our Imperial Court : your Excellency has written to George Bloem,* but without mentioning anything relating to our service: your Excellency may write such frivolous pretenses to whom you please, but ought not to impose them on our Imperial Majesty, it being in vain to alledge, that the Director General had received his instructions from Batavia; whereas he brought his full power along with him out of Holland: such sinister dealings as these create no small jealousy, so I cannot see with what face you can accept any farther credit from us; I have taken care to have this translated into Dutch, that you may have no reason to plead ignorance. George Bloem shall stay here till I receive your answer, when I intend to send him back with a letter."

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

No. 6.—KING'S SLAVES AT GAMPOLA.

The *Nīti-Nighaṇḍuwa* (p. xxxiii.) tells us that in Kandyan times high-caste women who had connection with low-caste men were consigned as slaves of the Crown to the royal village of Gampola. This is, so far as I can remember, the only Sinhalese chronicle to mention this arbitrary law against women.

Was it rigorously and extensively enforced, and what references are there, if any?

That the law was enforced once at least in the last King's reign is evident from the following entry in the *Judicial Commissioners' Diary* of 7th February, 1823:—"A Vellāla woman of Gonigoda in Hārispattu stated that ten days before the accession she was banished as a King's slave to

* The Dutch Interpreter at the King's Court.—J. M. S.

Gampola because she eloped with a painter to Sabaragamuwa. The Assessors stated that it was customary under the King's Government to punish offences such as that committed by the woman against the rules of caste, by sending the female offenders as King's slaves to Gampola, and to deprive them of their right of inheritance, but they never heard of their property being forfeited to the Crown. The lands and other property went to the next of kin."

What king was it who first enacted the law, and was there no punishment for men offending likewise?

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

No. 7.—THE SINHALESE AND SPRING TIDES.

The following contribution from the late Mr. W. Goonetilleke, Editor of *The Orientalist*, appeared about May 1892 in the now defunct newspaper, the *Ceylon Examiner*. It is of sufficient interest to bear republication:—

In the course of my reading I have frequently noticed that many scientific facts which we are inclined at first to class under the head of modern discoveries, had already been known to the ancients. It is not my intention to adduce instances of this from any foreign works; but what I am tempted to bring to the notice of your readers is from a work written in the Island. I refer to the *Mahawansa*, the authors of which were Sinhalese.

In Chapter LXXXIV., stanza 44, which I had occasion to refer to the other day in connection with quite a different point, we meet with the following passage:—"Like as the moon * * * swelleth the expanse of water in the ocean, so did this king thoroughly extend the excellent religion of the Tathágato." (Wijesinha's translation.)

The reference here can be to nothing else than the Spring tides at the full and new moon.

This establishes beyond a doubt that the Sinhalese were acquainted with the cause of these tides long before any European nation set foot on the Island.

EDWARD W. PERERA.

[*Mahāvamsa* LXXXIV., 44 :—

Pāli Text.

එවං කරොගොතා විවිධොපකාරං
සුධාකරොචාරි නිබ්බ රාජා
සසාසනං චච්ඡිසි සම්මදෙව
සම්මෙ රාජස්ස තථාගතස්ස

Sinhalese Translation.

මෙසේ රජ තෙමේ නානාප්‍රකාර උපකාර කෙරෙමින් අමෘත රශ්මිකු
සාගරය සෙසින් සම්ම රාජන්වූ තථාගතයන්ගේ සස්ත මොනවව
ච්ඡිතය කෙළෙයි.

This translation the learned High Priest Nānissara, Principal of the Vidyodaya College, Māligākanda, confirms as a faithful rendering :—

Instead of saying අමෘත රශ්මිකු සාගරය චච්ඡන්තාස් මෙත් the elliptical clause has been used as in Pāli, where චච්ඡිසි (=චච්ඡන්තාස්) is omitted after චාරිනිධං (“ocean”). අමෘත රශ්මිකු is the rendering of සුධාකරො which is a synonym for “moon” and literally means “mine of water.”

For a “similar statement” the High Priest refers to stanza 17 of the 3rd canto of the *Raghuvaṃsa*.

Text.

නිවාත පදමස්සි මිතෙන වස්සුතා
තාපසා කාතනං පිචතා සුතාතනම්,
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Translation.

“When the king saw the lovely face of his son with eyes motionless like the lotus in a lake when there is no wind, his heart overflowed with delight like the ocean on seeing the moon.”—*Ed. Sec.*]

JOURNAL
OF THE
CEYLON BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
1914

VOLUME XXIII.

No. 67.

PAPERS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, 1914.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1913.

THE DATE OF BUDDHA'S DEATH AND CEYLON CHRONOLOGY.

NOTES ON AN EXPLORATION IN EASTERN UVA, AND SOUTHERN
PANAMA PATTU.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries
into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts,
Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and
former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

COLOMBO :

THE COLOMBO APOTHECARIES CO., LTD., PRINTERS.

1916.

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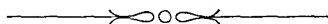


JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CEYLON BRANCH.



COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 8, 1914.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Sir S. C. Obeyesekere, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

A. M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyár.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and Gerard A. Joseph, Hony. Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed the Minutes of Council Meeting held on 23rd October, 1913.

2. Resolved,—That the following gentlemen be elected Members of the Society :—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| (1) Reinhart Freudenberg: | recom- { J. Harward.
mended by { Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (2) Siegmund Freudenberg: | recom- { J. Harward.
mended by { Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (3) Winfried Freudenberg: | recom- { J. Harward.
mended by { Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (4) Emmanuel Mendis Karunaratna: | { G. Abeyasingha.
recommended by { A. Mendis Guna-
sédera. |

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| (5) Jacob Munasingha, Proctor: | { | C. A. Hévavitarana. |
| recommended by | | Andreas Nell. |
| (6) P. Madhana Menon, B.A. : recom- | { | R. A. Ramapillai. |
| mended by | | Andreas Nell. |
| (7) George Fitz George Forrest, C.C.S.: | { | Joseph Pearson. |
| recommended by | | Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (8) William Moir: recommended by | { | B. Horsburgh. |
| | | A. N. Galbraith. |
| (9) Robert de Alwis: recommended | { | T. P. Attygalle. |
| by | | Hector van Cuylenberg. |
| (10) John Abeyekoon, J.P., Muda- | { | W. A. de Silva. |
| liyár: recommended by | | Sir S. C. Obeyesekere. |

3. Laid on the table applications for exchange of publications from the University of Hongkong and Bernice Panahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History, Honolulu.

It was decided to inform the Institutions that the Council of this Society regret that an exchange of publications cannot be sanctioned, and that they be referred to Rule 9.

4. Laid on the table a translation of "Arthus' Historia Indiæ," by Mr. J. R. Walters, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That it be referred to the Secretaries to be dealt as a contribution to "Notes and Queries."

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled: "Parákrama Báhu VI. re-investigated," by Mudaliyár W. F. Gunawardhana.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and W. A. de Silva for report.

6. Considered the printing of the Society's publications.

On a motion proposed by Dr. A. Nell and seconded by Mr. G. A. Joseph, it was resolved that the draft printing agreement be referred to a sub-Committee, consisting of the President, the Hon'ble Mr. B. Horsburgh and Mr. E. W. Perera and that the President be empowered to enter into a contract for printing in pursuance of the terms of an agreement approved by the above sub-Committee.

7. Read a letter from the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary dated 7th January, 1914, on the inscribed rock found at the site of the old "Breakwater Office."

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 24, 1914.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
A. M. Gunasékara, Muda-
liyár.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

,, J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-
Law.Simon de Silva, Gate Muda-
liyár.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, A. N. Galbraith, C.C.S. and Gerard A.
Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretaries.*Business.*1. Read and confirmed the Minutes of Council Meeting held
on 8th January, 1914.2. Resolved,—That the following gentlemen be elected Mem-
bers of the Society:—(1) A. L. E. J. Brito: recommended { Simon de Silva.
by { R.C.Kailásapillai.(2) E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.: recom- { H. C. P. Bell.
mended by { Gerard A. Joseph.(3) Revd. M. J. Legoc, Ph.D., M.A., { J. Pahamunay,
B.Sc., O.M.I.: recommended by { O.M.I.
Gerard A. Joseph.(4) C. J. Edirisinghe, Proctor S.C.: { C. E. Corea.
recommended by { J. A. Corea.(5) M. Sabaratna Singhe, B.A.: re- { R. A. Ramapillai.
commended by { P. M. Menon.(6) G. Saranankara Terunnánsé: re- { Chas. Dias.
commended by { Yagirala Pannan-
anda.(7) M. K. Kanagasabai: recommended { R. A. Ramapillai.
by { D. B. Jayatilaka.(8) P. Jorlis Dias: recommended by { W. F. Gunawar-
dhana.
D. B. Jayatilaka.(9) G. J. de Silva: recommended by { Peter de Abrew.
E. Evans.

3. On a motion proposed by Dr. J. Pearson and seconded by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, it was resolved that steps be taken to have the Society's Library put into good order preparatory to the compilation of a Card Catalogue.

Resolved,—That a clerk be engaged for three months, at Rs. 30 per mensem, to assist the Society's clerk.

4. Resolved,—That the question of subscribing to the proposed Art Gallery and Lecture Hall do stand over for the present.

5. Read Circular No. 22 of 12th January, 1914, containing the opinions of Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and W. A. de Silva on the Paper entitled: "Parākrama Báhu VI. re-investigated," by Mudaliyár W. F. Gunawardhana.

Resolved,—That in view of the divergent opinions the President's decision as to the acceptance of the Paper be final.

6. Laid on the table a Paper entitled: "The Captivity of Major Davie," by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G.

Proposed by Dr. A. Nell and seconded by Mr. W. A. de Silva, —That the Paper be accepted for publication in the Journal and that extracts be read at a General Meeting.

Resolved unanimously,—That the Paper be accepted and dealt with as proposed, and that the author be thanked for the Paper.

7. Laid on the table advance copy of Part II., January, 1914, of Ceylon Notes and Queries.

8. Laid on the table a Paper entitled: "The Popular Poetry of the Sinhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Resolved, on a motion proposed by Mr. Joseph and seconded by Dr. Nell,—That the Paper be referred to A. Mendis Gunasékera, Mudaliyár and Mr. E. W. Perera, for favour of their opinions.

9. Laid on the table a Paper entitled: "The Date of Buddha's death and Ceylon Chronology," by Mr. John M. Senaveratne.

Resolved, on a motion proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Mr. Joseph, to refer the Paper to Mr. H. C. P. Bell and Mr. H. W. Codrington, for favour of their opinions.

10. Laid on the table estimates for printing Papers accepted for the Journal.

11. Laid on the table correspondence between the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., and the Hony. Secretary, in regard to the printing of the Society's publications, &c.

12. Laid on the table application for exchange of publications from "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift," Berlin.

Resolved,—That the matter do stand over till next Meeting.

13. Read a letter from Mr. John M. Senaveratne offering to bring the Index to the Journal and Proceedings of the Society up to date.

Resolved,—That Mr. Senaveratne be thanked for his generous offer and be informed that the Council have much pleasure in

accepting it. The Council agree with Mr. Senaveratne that the Index should as closely as possible follow the lines of the previous Index compiled by Mr. F. W. Gore.

14. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1914.

Mr. Joseph explained that Mr. P. E. Pieris and Mr. E. W. Perera retire by seniority and Messrs. H. W. Codrington and Kailásapillai Mudaliyár by least attendance, two of these being eligible for re-election.

Resolved,—That Mr. P. E. Pieris and Mr. E. W. Perera be re-elected and that Mr. H. W. Codrington and Kailásapillai Mudaliyár be deemed to have retired by least attendance.

Considered the filling up the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. John Ferguson, C. M. G., Vice-President.

Resolved, unanimously, to invite Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., to accept the vacant office.

Mr. Hartley thanked the Council and expressed his willingness to accept the post.

The Honorary Secretary laid on the table Mr. Horsburgh's resignation as a Member of the Council in view of his departure on leave.

Resolved to fill the four vacancies by nominating the following gentlemen:—The Right Revd. Dr. E. A. Copleston; Mr. C. W. Horsfall; Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.; Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. A. N. Galbraith desired, owing to pressure of official work, to resign the Honorary Secretaryship.

The Council whilst regretting Mr. Galbraith's resignation agreed to elect Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, subject to his consent.

15. Considered and passed draft Annual Report for 1913.

16. Read Circular No. 287 of 27th October, 1913, containing a letter from Mr. Lionel Giles, together with the translation of "Ming Shih" and previous correspondence, relating to the Chinese references to Ceylon, with the opinions of Messrs. P. E. Pieris and E. W. Perera.

Resolved,—That application be addressed to the Government for a special grant of Rs. 750.00 to enable the Society to secure translations by Messrs. Giles and Backhouse.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 30, 1914.

Present :

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáhalam, Kt.,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, M.A., D.D.

Ven. F. H. de Winton.	Mr. J. T. Muttiah, Mudaliyár.
Mr. P. E. S. Dharmasékera.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
„ P. Jorlis Dias.	Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, B.A.
„ P. J. Dias.	„ R. Ságarajasingam.
„ D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.	„ J. M. Senaveratne.
„ C. Námasiváyam, J.P.	

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.,
Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors: Six gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed minutes of last General Meeting held on 18th December, 1913.
2. Laid on the table books and parts of Periodicals received since the last General Meeting.
3. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.
4. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph read the following Annual Report of the Council for 1913.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1913.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for 1913.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Five General Meetings of this Society were held during the year, the following Papers being read and discussed:—

- (1) "Medical Literature of the Sinhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
- (2) "The 19th (Yorkshire) Regiment: a note on its connection with Ceylon," by Mr. Charles Reith.

Besides the two Meetings at which the above named Papers were read, there was the Annual General Meeting when the Annual Report was read and the President delivered his Presidential address. There were also two Special General Meetings, at one of which Mr. P. E. Pieris delivered a lecture entitled: "The failure of the Portuguese, and the Sinhalese People" and at the other Meeting the new Rules and Regulations of the Society were discussed and finally passed.

The following Papers were accepted during the year for publication in the Journal:

- (1) "A Recent Find of Coins," by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.
- (2) English translation of Prof. W. Geiger's "Māldivian Studies," by Mrs. J. C. Willis.

MEMBERS.

During the past year 29 new Ordinary Members were elected.

The Society has now on its roll 393 Members, of whom 41 are Life-Members and 8 Honorary Members.

Life-Members.—The following gentlemen have become Life-Members:—Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.; Mr. C. E. Haslop; Mr. P. D. Khan; Mr. M. F. Khan; and the Hon'ble Sir S. C. Obeyesekere, Kt., M.L.C.

Deaths.—The Council record with regret the deaths of Messrs. J. P. de Alwis and John Ferguson, C.M.G.

Mr. Ferguson joined the Society in 1867, and became a Life-Member in 1880.

He contributed to Vol. XIX., No. 57—1906 of the Society's Journal a Paper entitled: "The Cocoanut Palm in Ceylon: beginning, rise, and progress of its cultivation."

At a Meeting held on 23rd October, 1913, the Council passed the following resolution on the death of the late Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G.:—

"Resolved that the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society desire to record their feelings of deep sorrow at the death of Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G. (Vice-President 1902—1903, President 1904—1909, and again Vice-President from 1909 up to his death) and their appreciation of his valuable and devoted services to the Society."

"The Council desire to offer to Mrs. Ferguson and the members of the family their sincere condolence in their bereavement."

PUBLICATIONS.

One number of the Journal, Vol. XXII., No. 65, was published during the year. It contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and General Meetings, the following Papers:—

1. "Notes on a Dutch Medal (No. 2)," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.
2. "The Date of King Bhuvanéka Báhu VII.," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.
3. "Ceylon Archives at the Cape of Good Hope," by Mr. R. W. Lee.
4. "Vijaya Báhu VI.," by Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.
5. "Inscriptions at St. Thomas' Church, Colombo," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.
6. "Inscription at Kérágala," by Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.

A new publication entitled "Ceylon Notes and Queries" Part I., October, 1913, was issued during the year. It contains the following:—

1. "A Philippus," by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.
2. "Dharna," by Mr. F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law.
3. "Ancient Doorways and Pillars," by Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.
4. "A note on the Maháwansa," by Mr. E. R. Ayrton, Archæological Commissioner.
5. "Mr. Salmon on Ceylon," by Mr. John M. Senave-ratne.
6. "King's Slaves at Gampola," by Mr. John M. Senave-ratne.
7. "The Sinhalese and Spring Tides," by Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at Law.

PRINTING OF THE SOCIETY'S JOURNAL, &C.

The Council regret to note that for nearly a year there has been a virtual dead-lock as regards the printing of the Society's publications.

After sixty-nine years of uninterrupted printing at the Government Printing Office, pressure of other work has forced the Government to relieve the Government Printer of the work of printing for the Society.

The Council take this opportunity of thanking the Government Printer for the care and pains which he has invariably devoted to the publication of this Society's Journal.

The question of finding some private press willing and capable of undertaking such technical printing (including the use of diacritical type) has engaged the serious attention of the Council. After some months' negotiations, an agreement with the Apothecaries Company, Colombo, is taking a definite shape, and it is hoped that the printing will soon be taken in hand.

As soon as this agreement has been signed, the Journal for 1913 will be put in hand, as well as one or two extra volumes, which will include three long and important articles:—

1. "Earliest Dutch visits to Ceylon," by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.

2. "D'Oyly's Diary, Vols. I. and II., with Introduction and Index," by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.
3. "English Translation of Prof. W. Geiger's *Máldivian Studies*," by Mrs. J. C. Willis.

It is hoped that Members of the Society will be in possession of all arrears of literary matter before the end of 1914.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of Periodicals, numbered 339.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following:—

Mr. H. C. P. Bell; The Government of India; The Archaeological Survey of India; The Government Oriental Library, Madras; The Government of Burma; The Máha Bódhi Society; The Forest Department of the Madras Presidency; The Páli Text Society, London; Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy; Mr. Charles Janet; The Manager, "Collegian and Progress of India," Calcutta; Sir R. C. Temple; The Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma; The Manager, "Indian Thought"; The Director-General of Archaeology, India; The Government of Ceylon; The Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary, Ceylon; The Postmaster-General, Ceylon; The Editor, *Wilson Bulletin*; Mr. J. E. Jasper; The University of Nebraska; Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G.; Venerable Ledi Sayadawa; Mr. F. R. R. Rudman, I.C.S.; The Siam Society; The Planters' Association, Ceylon; The Panjab Historical Society, India; Mr. R. Narasinhachar; Mr. D. Sirinivasa Sthavira; The Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Minas del Peru; The Louisiana State Museum; The Manager, "National Monthly."

ACCOMMODATION.

Your Council wish to draw attention again to the insufficiency of accommodation in the Library for the proper housing of the valuable books belonging to the Society.

EXCHANGE AND PURCHASE OF PUBLICATIONS.

Valuable exchanges were effected during the year with 40 Institutions.

The following books were purchased during the year:—

1. Ceylon Administration Reports, 1867—1902.
2. Re-organization of the Irrigation Department, 1867—1900.
3. Report of the Paddy Cultivation Ordinance, 1872.
4. The History and Antiquities of St. David's, by W. B. Jones, M.A., and E. A. Freeman, M.A., London, 1856.
5. The History and Antiquities of the Manor House at South Wraxhall and the Church of St. Peter, Riddestone, Wiltshire, &c., London, 1838.

6. Scenes in the thirty days war between Greece and Turkey, 1897, by H. W. Nevison, London, 1898.
7. The Buddhist: Organ of the Southern Church of Buddhism, Vols. I. to IV., Colombo, 1888—1892.
8. Memoirs illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Norfolk and the City of Norwich, London, 1851.
9. Taxation in Ceylon, with special reference to the Grain Taxes, Colombo, 1890.
10. Institutes of the Laws of Ceylon, Vols. I. and II., London, 1866, by H. B. Thomson.
11. Morocco: journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan, by H. M. P. de La Martiniere and Lieut.-Col. Trotter, London, 1889.
12. Final French Struggles in India and the Indian seas, &c., with an appendix containing an account of the Expedition from India to Egypt in 1801, London, 1878.
13. Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies, an account of a Tour through Burma, by G. T. Gascoigne, London, 1896.
14. Hindustan under Free Lances, 1770—1820. Sketches of Military adventure in Hindustan during the period immediately preceding British occupation, by H. G. Keene, &c., London, 1907.
15. Morocco as it is, with an account of Sir Charles Euan Smith's recent Mission to Fez, by Stephen Bonsai, London, 1894.
16. Speeches of His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Sir West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., &c., 1896—1903, Colombo, 1903.
17. Ceylon Artificers' and Contractors' Memorandum Book, by Adrian Mendis, Colombo, 1869.
18. Spilbergen's Voyage, 1601.
19. Sport in many lands: Europe, Asia, Africa, America, &c., London, 1890.
20. Wolkomen Woordenboek der Nederdeutsche en Englishe Taalen, a complete Dictionary, Dutch and English, to which is added a Grammar for both languages. Originally compiled by William Sewel, by Egbert Buys, Amsterdam, 1766.
21. Selection from the most remarkable and interesting of the Fishes found on the coast of Ceylon, 1834.
22. Compendium of Philosophy. A translation of the original Pāli of the Abhidhammītha Saṅgaha, with Introductory Essay and Notes, S. L. Aung, B.A. and Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A.
23. The Mahāwamsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, translated into English, by W. Geiger and Mabel H. Bode, Phd., London, 1912.
24. A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms—being an account of the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien, of his travels in India and Ceylon. (A.D. 399—414) Oxford, 1886, by James Legge, L.L.D.

25. *A Naturalist on the Prowl*, by "Eha," London, 1905.
26. *Ribeiro's History of Ceylon (Ceilão)*, by P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., Colombo, 1909.
27. *Ceylon, the Portuguese Era, being a History of the Island for the period 1505—1658*, by P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., Colombo, 1913.
28. *The Játaka, or Stories of the Buddha's former Births*. Translated from Páli by various hands, under the editorship of Prof. E. B. Cowell. Six Vols., Cambridge, 1895—1913.
29. *Studies from an Easter Chair*, by Sister Nivedita, Edinburgh, 1913.
30. *Colloquies on the simples and Drugs of India*, by Garcia Da Orta, new Edition (Lisbon 1895) edited and annotated, by the Conde de Ficalho. Translated, with an introduction and index by Sir Clements Markham, London, 1913.
31. *Behind the Bungalow, and Tribes in my Frontier*, by "Eha."
32. *Dictionary of Quotations from Ancient and Modern English and foreign sources, &c.*, by Revd. J. Wood, London, 1910.
33. *A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English, Abridged from the seven volume work entitled, "Slang and its Analogues,"* by John S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, London, 1905.
34. *Dictionary of Quotations (French)*, by T. B. Harbottle and Col. P. H. Dallrac, London, 1908.
35. *Cassel's Book of Quotations, Proverbs and Household words, &c.*, by W. Garney Benham, London, 1913.
36. *An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopædia*, by Lionel Giles, London, 1911.
37. *Antiquities of India: An account of the History and Culture of Ancient Hindustan*, by Lionel D. Barnett, M.A., London, 1913.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The Archæological Commissioner (Mr. E. R. Ayrton) has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following interesting summary of the work done in 1913:—

SUMMARY.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1913.

1.—*Clearing.*

During the past year the experiment has been made, so far with great success, of keeping gangs of coolies continually at work rooting up the weeds and jungle-growth on the Archæological Reservations at Anurádhapura, thus keeping the ground and

ruins clear during the whole time. It has been found that this is no more costly than the old method of letting the jungle grow up and cutting it, on contract, once a year; whilst the gain as regards the better preservation of the ruins is incalculable. It is further not improbable that the health of the modern town may gain from this system.

All the important ruins that have been excavated during the past year are being kept absolutely free of grass and weeds by a smaller gang of coolies who work over each ruin in rotation.

The recent appointment of an Inspector to the Archaeological Survey at Poġonnaruwa has made possible the keeping quite clear of jungle a certain area round each of the important ruins at that place, and at Yápáhu the Arachehi has for the past six months cleared the Archaeological area in the same way, working under a contract.

Sígiri and Nálande Reservations were cleared only once during the past year.

2.—Excavations.

(a) The excavation of the so-called Elephant Stables was finished early in the year, and although no inscription was found to give us a hint as to its real name, yet there is little doubt that this building is the Ratana Pásáda erected by Mahinda II., at a cost of 300,000 pieces of gold, in the latter part of the 8th century A.D. All that remains of the building, which was probably several stories high, is the stone-faced platform and a few of the huge monolithic pillars which supported the upper storeys.

The platform is oblong in shape with a bay on the west, and was ascended by a single flight of steps in the centre of the east side. At the foot of these steps is a large moonstone carved with a simple lotus design. The balustrades are both missing but we fortunately recovered the guardstone which stood originally on the south side of the steps. It is a very ornate piece of stone carving having the very unusual feature of a *torana*, over the *Nágarája*, which is carved with the figures of animals and deities issuing from the mouths of *Makaras*. It is of especial interest as being one of the few guardstones at Anurádhapura to which we can venture to assign a date.

At the south-west corner of the platform was a small annexed platform to which access was obtained by a flight of steps with plain guardstones, moonstone and balustrades. On this platform there probably rested a wooden staircase leading to the upper storeys of the building.

To find the original number and disposition of the stone pillars, the main platform was excavated to a depth of some feet below the surrounding ground level with the result that the foundations of an older building were found below. This lower building must have rivalled the upper in actual area though it was hardly as imposing a structure, since, of the facing of its platform, only the plinth was of stone, the rest being of brick.

Fortunately we are able to date this lower building to the latter half of the 2nd century A. D. by an inscription of Gaja Báhu I. found *in situ* here.

(b) The remainder of the time was occupied by the excavation of the buildings known locally as the Outer Circular Road Palaces. Including three groups excavated last year, about fourteen groups have been dug out. In spite of the thorough excavation of these sites no inscription has been found to give us a clue to the origin or name of the buildings, but I am inclined to think that these buildings were not secular but monastic and were erected for the use of those monks, known as the Pansakúlikas, who dwelt in the Tapovana or Ascetics Forest at Anurádhapura and whose power was felt by the kings of that place from 700 to 950 A.D.

A short inscription *in situ* in one of the buildings is written in characters of the 10th century A.D. which would suit this date. Careful excavation has revealed the general arrangement of the rooms in these buildings. As pointed out in my last notice to this Journal the main building is of two platforms. The first, unroofed, serving as an open hall, and the second which supports stone pillars holding the living rooms. We have found that the house on this second platform was in almost every case probably built of *wooden* planks with a roof of terra-cotta tiles being supported by the stone pillars. On the ground floor—there may have been more than two storeys—stood seven small rooms round a central hall. It is a curious anomaly that on a strong stone-faced platform we should find a *wooden* house with a terra-cotta tiled roof, yet the evidence at hand seems indisputable. Around the central building are numerous smaller buildings, many of which, notably those of one room, only have brick walls on the stone platform, these were apparently lavatories, latrines and houses for dyeing clothes.

(c) A few trial pits were sunk in the old Citadel enclosure to see to what depth the signs of human occupation would go, since there seems no doubt that this must be the old Citadel of Anurádhapura. In all pits fragments of pottery and beads were found down to 20 feet below the present ground level, and in one pit brick constructions resembling small tanks were found at different levels down to 21 feet, thus proving the long-continued occupation of the site.

The foundations of a row of houses of perhaps as late as the 16th century A.D. were excavated along one of the old roads in the enclosure, and near to an ancient stone well. In one of these was found the fragment of a smooth granite column with a Christian cross cut in sunk relief in the centre of one of the sides.

It is improbable that this was brought from any distance since Anurádhapura abounds in fragments of old pillars which could be more easily utilized for building and it is therefore possible that it belonged to some ruined building in the neighbourhood. It is at least of interest as being the first Christian cross that has been found at Anurádhapura.

3.—*Restoration.*

(a) The fine moulded granite facing of the platform of the Ratana Pásáda was completely reset on the north, east and south sides and partially on the west. The small annexe with its steps, guardstones and moonstones was completely reset; and the main flight of steps on the east face was also put in place again, with its moonstone and superb southern guardstone.

(b) The porch of one of the Outer Circular Road Palaces was entirely reset, also the wall foundations of the compound, and the stone facing of the moat. I hope next year to be able to reset the facing of the second platform, thus restoring, as far as possible, one of these interesting buildings.

(c) The old stone seated statue of Buddha, which stands near the Stone Canopy on the Outer Circular Road, had been wantonly destroyed by treasure seekers. This has been satisfactorily restored. A large inscribed stone (Kassapa V.) near by has been set upright to prevent the continual drip of the rain from further wearing out the inscription.

(d) An important and costly piece of restoration has been the rebuilding at Sigiri of the great retaining wall of the east side of the platform on which stands the Lion Staircase House. This wall had been roughly built up in 1912 but was washed down again by the heavy rains of that year.

COUNCIL.

Under Rule 16 Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and E. B. Denham retired by seniority and Mr. H. W. Codrington and the Hon'ble Mr. Anton Bertram by least attendance, but two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election, Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and H. W. Codrington were re-elected, and in place of the Hon'ble Mr. Anton Bertram and Mr. E. B. Denham, Messrs. B. Horsburgh and C. Hartley were elected.

HONORARY OFFICERS.

His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers consented to become Patron of the Society, and the Hon'ble Mr. R. E. Stubbs to be Vice-Patron.

FINANCES.

Balance sheet showing expenditure and receipts for 1913 is annexed.

The new Rule with regard to the payment of subscription is as follows:—

“The annual subscription shall be due on January 1st of each year. If a Member's subscription remains unpaid on the 31st December his name shall be removed from the List of Members unless the Council shall otherwise decide.”

Steps will be taken to enforce the above Rule from this year. The Society is indebted to Mr. Herbert Tarrant for auditing the accounts.

5. On the proposition of Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, seconded by Mr. C. Námasiváyam, the Report was adopted.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS.

6. Mr. A. E. Murrell.—I desire to propose for election to office the following gentlemen nominated by the Council:—

President.—Mr. J. Harward.

Vice-Presidents—Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, the Hon'ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Mr. C. Hartley.

Council.—Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, Dr. J. Pearson, Dr. A. Nell, Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mr. W. A. de Silva, Mr. R. G. Arthonisz, Mr. P. E. Pieris, Mr. E. W. Perera, Rt. Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Mr. E. B. Denham, Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

Hony. Treasurer.—Mr. G. A. Joseph.

Hony. Secretaries.—Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, Mr. G. A. Joseph.

7. The Ven. the Archdeacon, F. H. de Winton, seconded—carried.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

8. Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam next delivered the presidential address. He said:—

My Lord Bishop and gentlemen, in the absence of our President, Mr. Harward, from the Island, it has devolved upon me to take the chair, and it is my duty and pleasure, on behalf of the office-bearers, to thank you for their election and on my own behalf to thank you for my re-election as Vice-President. I welcome to the Council the Lord Bishop of Colombo, whose scholarship and advice will be of the greatest benefit to this Society. I am glad to welcome also Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, who, after rendering valuable service to the cause of education in Ceylon as the head of an important school, spent some years at Oxford in study and research and has lately returned to the Island, leaving, as I found on a recent visit to Oxford, a fragrant memory both among the dons and the undergraduates.

It is the custom for learned societies of this kind to have an annual presidential address. But in the history of this Society the custom has been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. In the sixty years ending 1905 there were only twelve addresses, including the great Jubilee address in 1895 of the Right Rev. Dr. Copleston, late Bishop of Colombo and afterwards Metropolitan of Calcutta. In 1906 the late Mr. John Ferguson broke the monotony by delivering a comprehensive and valuable address. Then there were two short addresses in 1907 and 1908, and none at all in the years 1909—1912. Last year Mr. Harward delivered a scholarly and stimulating address, which makes me regret that he is not here to-day to give us more from the treasures of his learning and knowledge.

I have myself returned to the Island only within the last few days after a long absence, and I have not kept in touch with the work of the Society, nor have I had the time to prepare an address worthy of the name. I must, therefore, content myself with a few rough observations.

First of all, I would refer to the loss, the very great loss, which the Society has sustained by the death of our former President, Mr. John Ferguson. The Society has already in a resolution recorded its sense of the loss and of his valuable and indefatigable services. He was, I believe, the oldest member of the Society and perhaps its most useful member after the late Bishop of Colombo. He was an active member of the Council and for many years Vice-President and President. Last week, at a meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association of Colombo, due reference was made to other aspects of his varied and strenuous life. I must not, however, refrain from adding my own personal tribute. I knew him intimately for many years. The more I knew him, the more I esteemed, loved and revered him. The last time I had the pleasure of meeting him was at Birmingham at the British Association meeting last autumn. He was then not looking very well; the serious accident which he had met with in Canada and the protracted illness which followed had enfeebled and visibly affected his body. But his mind retained all the old vitality, vigour and alertness, and his conversation was as instructive and sparkling as ever. He ranged from subject to subject with his wonted ease and charm, drawing from the almost inexhaustible stores of his knowledge and experience. And how he loved to speak of Ceylon and its people, whom he had served with a life-long devotion which no Ceylonese can ever forget! I cannot think of any Englishman—perhaps I should say Briton, for Mr. Ferguson was very proud of being a Scot—to whom the Island is under deeper obligation. It has always been a great disappointment to us in Ceylon that his splendid services were not recognized by the bestowal of a knighthood. Such men as he and the late Mr. George Wall, our Vice-President for many years, would have added lustre to any order. The public and private life of these two great men will be cherished as an example and an inspiration by many generations in Ceylon.

The Report that has been read to you to-day gives an account of many matters which have engaged the Society's attention during the year, and is a satisfactory record of its condition and operations. The number of its members is the largest on record, close on four hundred, or, to be exact, 393, *i. e.*, more than double the number of ten years ago. It was during Sir Hugh Clifford's brilliant presidency that our roll received its greatest accession, from 281 in 1909 to 380 in 1912. During the year we have had twenty-nine new members. We have at last revised and consolidated our rules which had never been revised before, and there is every hope of their working well. The "Notes and Queries," which have been started during the year,

have provided a much needed outlet for the varied knowledge and information of our members and will, I think, add new interest to our work.

It is a matter for great regret and of serious consequence to us that the exigencies of the public service have compelled the Government to withdraw from us the facilities we have hitherto enjoyed of having our Journal printed at the Government Press. The Report has mentioned the straits to which we have been reduced. In the search for a new press competent to do our rather technical work and in the negotiations that have been necessary, we have lost a good deal of valuable time, with the deplorable result that our Journal for 1913 has not yet been printed, and many articles and contributions that we have received are not likely to see the light of day for some time. Among them is one on "The Earliest Dutch Visits" by Mr. Donald Ferguson, and the edition of Sir John D'Oyly's Diary by Mr. Codrington. These documents throw much light, the first on the early relations of Holland with Ceylon, and the second on early British rule in the Island. Sir John D'Oyly was a distinguished member of the Ceylon Civil Service in the first quarter of last century. After a creditable career at Cambridge, where he was 2nd Chancellor's medallist in Classics and Senior Optime in Mathematics, he entered the Civil Service in 1802, rose to be Resident and First Commissioner of the Government in the Kandyan Provinces, and was created a baronet in 1821 for his services in conducting the negotiations which led to the acquisition of the Kandyan kingdom. He was the author of that most interesting and authoritative work, "A Sketch of the Kandyan Constitution," which, at the instance of the then Chief Justice, Sir Alexander Johnston, was published (in part) in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Great Britain in 1833. The Diary records the negotiations regarding the Kandyan territories, and has been prepared for the press by Mr. Codrington with his usual care and thoroughness. This and other work that he has done for the Society has laid us under great obligation to him, and he bids fair to take his place in time with the great Civilian scholars of the past, such as George Turnour and Sir John Dickson.

May I commend the example of Mr. Codrington to other young Civil Servants, who have excellent opportunities in the course of their service throughout the Island of gathering information and prosecuting researches in regard to the objects of our Society. I would appeal also to the many young gentlemen of culture and education throughout the Island and not in the Civil Service, who are members of our Society, to help us with their researches and contributions. In spite of much that has been done, many branches of our work—antiquities, literature, arts, natural history,—may be said to be to a great extent unexplored fields, and demand labourers. Not only will the Island be benefited by such researches, but a new zest will be given to many a life now doomed to the treadmill of professional toil or money-making or spent in frivolity or idleness. In this con-

nexion I would like to call attention to the work of a member of this Society, Mr. E. R. Gooneratne of Galle. He has during the year published a learned translation of the first three divisions of the *Anguttara Nikāya*, an important work of the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists, in which (among other things) the Master impresses on his disciples the supreme importance of the highest morality, and urges them to pursue it strenuously "with manly vigour, manly ability and manly effort, so long indeed as skin, nerves and bones remain, even if flesh and blood dry up." Mr. Gooneratne has done his work with care and ability, and all students of Pāli and of Buddhism will look forward eagerly to the completion of the work.

We are grateful to the Archæological Commissioner, Mr. Ayrton, who has with his usual courtesy favoured us with a summarized report of the operations of his department during the past year. His excavations have enabled him to throw light on the so-called Elephant Stables at Anurādhapura, which have been rather a mystery. He is disposed to see in these ruins part of the great palace, Ratana Pāsāda, built by King Mahinda II. in the 8th century at a cost of 300,000 gold pieces. Under it he has discovered the foundations of an older building with an inscription that goes back to Gaja Báhu I. of the 2nd century. A Russian friend of mine, M. Victor Goloubew, whose Oriental collections are among the sights of Paris, and who visited Anurādhapura some time ago, mentioned to me his conviction that if the ruins of Anurādhapura were excavated deep enough, layers of much older buildings and traces of much older civilizations would be found. As you know, this has been the case in the excavations at Troy, Mycenæ, Crete and other places. The discovery of Mr. Ayrton goes to confirm the view, and it is much to be hoped that the Archæological Commissioner will be provided with funds to make such excavations. This should not be left entirely to the Government, which has many calls on its exchequer. I recommend this work as a fit object for the liberality of our rich citizens. At the present moment at Patna in Behar (Pāṭaliputra, the ancient capital of India, Palibothra of Megasthenes) the Archæological Department of India is carrying out excavations with funds provided by the munificence of Mr. Ratan Tata of Bombay, who has offered Rs. 20,000 a year for an indefinite number of years. He is only following the precedent of wealthy men in Europe and America.*

* An account of the discoveries made is given in the Annual Report for 1913—14, of the Archæological Survey of India (Eastern Circle) and more briefly in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for January 1915. The excavations have revealed, at a depth of 18 ft. from the surface and below a layer of structures of the Gupta period, the remains of a vast pillared hall of Chandragupta the Mauryan (Sandracottus of Megasthenes), which appears to be a replica of the Throne room of Darius Hystaspes at Persepolis and opens up an interesting question of the influence of Persia on India over twenty-two centuries ago.

There is one matter which the Report has not mentioned, *viz.*, the action taken by the Society in reference to the very interesting question of the political relations of Ceylon with China during the Middle Ages. Some Sinhalese works, such as the *Rājāvaliya* and *Saddharmaratnākara*, as well as the Portuguese historians De Couto and Ribeiro, record that the King of Ceylon was taken captive by the Chinese in the early part of the fifteenth century and transported to China, an event which is suppressed in the *Mahāvamsa*. The capture was, strangely enough, one of the issues in a land case tried by me as District Judge of Chilaw in 1904, and known as the *Adippola Sammas Case*. Most of the authorities relating to the capture will be found in my judgment (reported in Appendix IV. of my Digest of the Ceylon Civil Law, Vol. I.). In 1911 there was discovered in Galle a tablet with inscriptions in three languages, Chinese, Persian and Tamil. It had been built into a culvert with its face down, and the Provincial Engineer, Mr. Tomalin, who found it, very kindly sent it to the Colombo Museum. We had great difficulty in ascertaining the subject matter of the inscriptions. The Persian and Tamil inscriptions were scarcely decipherable, but the Chinese inscription was legible. Our Society put itself in communication with the British Ambassador at Pekin, and through his good offices obtained a translation from a Chinese scholar, Mr. Backhouse. The inscriptions and translation will be found in the *Spolia Zeylanica* (June 1912), with an interesting article by Mr. E. W. Perera. The Chinese inscription records the expedition sent to Ceylon in 1410 under General Ching-ho, bearing costly offerings to Buddha from the Chinese Emperor, and runs as follows:—

“His Majesty the Emperor of the Great Ming dynasty has despatched the eunuchs Ching-Ho, Wang Ch'ing-Lien, and others to set forth his utterances before Buddha, the World-honoured One, as follows:—

“Deeply do we reverence you, Merciful and Honoured One, whose bright perfection is wide-embracing, and whose way of virtue passeth all understanding, whose law enters into all human relations, and the years of whose great *Kalpa* (æon) are like the sand of the river in number, you whose controlling influence ennobles and converts, whose kindness quickens, and whose strength discerns, whose mysterious efficacy is beyond compare!

“Whereas Ceylon's mountainous isle lies in the south of the Ocean, and its Buddhist temples are sanctuaries of your gospel, where your miraculous responsive power imbues and enlightens. Of late, we have despatched missions to announce our mandates to foreign nations, and during their journey over the Ocean they have been favoured with the blessing of your beneficent protection. They escaped disaster or misfortune, and journeyed in safety to and fro. We, therefore, bestow offerings in recompense, and do now reverently present before Buddha, the Honoured One, oblations of gold and silver, gold embroidered

jewelled banners of variegated silk, incense burners, and flower vases, silks of many colours in lining and exterior, lamps and candles with other gifts, in order to manifest the high honour of our worship. Do you, Lord Buddha, bestow on them your regard!" [Here follows a detailed list of the offerings.]

"The date being the seventh year of Yung-ho (1410 A.D.) marked Chi-Ch'ou in the sixty years' cycle, on the Chia-Hsu day of the sixty days cycle in the second moon, being the 1st day of the month. A reverent oblation."

This beautiful prayer to Buddha as a supreme power, holy and beneficent, ruler of the universe, marks a profound difference between the *Maháyána* School of Buddhism, which has its home in China, Japan and Tibet, and the *Hínayána* School which prevails in Ceylon and regards him as an extinct personality unable to influence mankind except by our remembrance and contemplation of his virtues. It was surmised by the Council of the Society that investigation of the historical works of China might throw light on this inscription and on the deportation of the Ceylon King. The Society has accordingly been in correspondence with Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum, and it was decided to employ him to search out and translate all references in the Chinese books to Ceylon. An application was made to Government for a sum of money to be paid as remuneration to Mr. Giles. Last month I happened to be in Paris and had the opportunity of meeting many scholars—among others a distinguished Orientalist, Professor Sylvain Lévi of the Collège de France. He is much interested in the archaeology and literatures of India and Ceylon and had visited these countries. In the course of conversation he had deduced me an article which he had written so far back as 1900 for the *Journal Asiatique*, in which he had collected the Chinese references to India and Ceylon.* If we had known this in time, it would have saved the Society much correspondence and labour, and it will now save the Government wholly or in great part the proposed expenditure. This is not the only occasion in my travels abroad which has made me realise how much we lose by not keeping in touch with what is being done by scholars on the continent of Europe, where (and especially at Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg) there is far greater interest taken and research prosecuted in Oriental learning and antiquities than in Great Britain. Among the Chinese documents included in M. Sylvain Lévi's article is one which refers to the very expedition of Ching-Ho, commemorated by the Galle tablet, and to the capture of the Ceylon king. It is very interesting, and I will translate it for you as I go on. It is from Chapter 66 of the work called *Pien-i-tien*, "A History of Foreign Nations."

"The Island of Sie-lan (*Sie-lan-chan*) is the ancient kingdom of *Seng-kia-lo* [Sinhala]. Near the king's palace is the Tooth

of Buddha, over which is a magnificent edifice whose precious stones shine like fire. During long series of generations it has been venerated without interruption, and the ceremonies have not declined. At present the king is *A lie kou nai eul* [A-le-konar, or Alagakkonara: vide the *Mahāwamsa* XCI. 2—13.]; he is a Soli [ascion of the Soḷa or Choḷa dynasty of South India]. He observes heretical practices and does not respect the law of Buddha. He is a cruel and violent tyrant who has no pity for the people of the kingdom and treats with insolence the Tooth of Buddha. In the 3rd year of Joung-lo [1405] the Emperor sent the eunuch Cheng-Ho with perfumes and flowers to make pious offerings in foreign lands. Cheng-Ho urged the King *A lie kou nai eul* to honour the teaching of Buddha and reject heresies. The king was incensed and wished to punish him. Cheng-Ho understood his intention and withdrew. Later on Cheng-Ho was again sent to make presents to foreign countries and at the same time to bear presents to the king of the isle of Sie-lan. The king, more arrogant than ever, showed no respect and sought even to maltreat him. On his orders fifty thousand armed men cut down trees to obstruct the road; another army was sent with orders to go and rob the ships. But it happened that the servants of the king allowed his machinations to leak out. On getting wind of this, Cheng-Ho hastened to return to the ships. Already the route was cut off. Cheng-Ho secretly sent messengers with orders to land soldiers from the ships to cope with the enemy. With 3,000 men he passed at night by a circuitous road, attacked the capital, entered it and took possession of it. Then the barbarian soldiers who were sent to rob the ships, and the barbarian soldiers from the interior of the kingdom arrived from all sides, invested the city and gave battle for six days. Cheng-Ho and his men, keeping the king prisoner, made a sortie from the gates at dawn, cleared away the heaps of trees to reach the road and travelled more than twenty *li* [about six miles], fighting and marching. At last in the evening they arrived near the ships. Before reaching their goal they worshipped the Tooth of Buddha, observing the due rites, and it was only then they embarked. And there was at this moment a supernatural marvel. The light that has been mentioned (on the temple) was seen to burn, and it thundered and lightened afar. They escaped unseen, passed all obstacles and sailed over 10,000 *li* on the sea without being troubled by winds or calms, quite as if they were going on smooth ground. Savage dragons and wicked fish appeared in front pell mell, but peaceful and harmless, and the men in the ships feeling secure were happy. In the ninth year of Joung-lo (1411), in the 7th month and the 9th day, they arrived at the capital."

General Cheng-Ho appears to have visited Ceylon again in the year 1432, and Ma Hoan, a Chinese Mussalman attached to his staff as interpreter, has left a record of the visit, in which he gives interesting particulars of the Island and its people. (*Ing-iai-cheng-lan*, of Ma Hoan). They arrived here from the

isles of Ts'uilan (Nicobar), sighting the hill of the "Falcon's Beak" (? Friar's Hood, off Batticaloa) at the end of seven days, and two or three days afterwards reaching the hill of the Buddhist temple" (? Dondra Head), close to which is "the port of Ceylon called *Pie-lo-li*" (? Weligama). On landing one sees glowing on the rock, at the base of the cliff, the impression of Buddha's foot about two feet or more long, in the hollow of which is water which never evaporates and is used by pilgrims for washing their faces and rubbing their eyes, saying "It is the water of Buddha, it will make us pure and clean." "The King is of the Soli race (Sola or Chola dynasty of the Tamils of South India) and believes fervently in the law of Buddha. He treats elephants and kine with veneration. The people of the country are accustomed to take cow dung, burn it to ashes and rub it all over the body. They do not venture to eat beef, they only drink the milk. When a cow dies, it is buried. It is a capital offence to kill a cow secretly, but the penalty may be avoided by giving as a ransom a cow's head made of solid gold. Every morning the people of the royal household, whatever their rank, take cow-dung, mix it with water, smear it on the floor, and then prostrate themselves and perform religious rites." From the practices described here and later on it is clear that the king and his people had adopted Hindu practices and beliefs and were probably only nominally Buddhists. Ma Hoan mentions a mountain near the king's residence with the impression of a human foot, two feet deep and eight or more long, said to be "the imprint of the foot of the ancestor of the human race, a holy man called *A-tan* (? Adam), otherwise *P'an-kou*." The mountain and the valleys abound with rubies and other precious stones which the people call "the congealed tears of Buddha." There is alongside of the Island, in the sea, a bank of sand white as snow and dazzling in the light of sun or moon; on it pearl oysters accumulate and the King has a pearl fishery every two or three years. "The Island is large and populous and resembles Java a little. The people have in abundance the necessaries of life. They wear only a piece of green cloth round their loins, fastened with a belt. They shave their bodies clean and only keep the hair on their head, round which they roll a white cloth. If they lose their father or mother, they grow their beard as evidence of filial piety. The women twist their hair into a knot at the back of the head, and wear a white cloth round their waist. The heads of new born males are shaved, but not of girls, whose hair is done up into a tuft and allowed to grow until adolescence. They eat no food without butter and milk, and if obliged to eat without, do so in secret or unseen. The betel nut never quits their mouth. They have no wheat, but have rice, sesame, and peas. The coconut, which they have in abundance, furnishes oil, wine, sugar and food. They burn their dead and bury the ashes. When death occurs in a family, the women and neighbours assemble and beat their breasts and utter loud groans and lamentations. Among their fruits are the banana and jak; they have also sugar cane,

melon, herbs and garden plants. Cattle, sheep, poultry and duck are not wanting. The king has in circulation a golden coinage weighing one candarin six cash. They value highly Chinese musk, coloured taffetas, blue porcelain basins and cups, copper money and camphor, which they exchange for pearls and precious stones. Chinese ships returning to China constantly bring envoys from their king bearing presents of precious stones offered as tribute to the Imperial Court."

In the year 428, i.e., a thousand years earlier than Ma Hoan from whom I have just cited, the following interesting letter appears to have been addressed by the Ceylon King *Ts'ali Mo-ho-nan* (Kshatriya Mahánáman) to the Chinese Emperor of the Sung dynasty.

"I respectfully inform the illustrious Lord of the Great Sung that, though mountains and seas separate us, news of him comes to us from time to time. Prostrate before the august Emperor, I receive his virtue and his path which are sublime and profound. He covers all like heaven, supports all like earth, shines like the sun and moon. Consequently on the four seas there is no where to go where one does not prostrate oneself before him. The Kings of countries cannot fail to send him messages and offer respectful presents to manifest their sincere desire of returning to the practice of virtue. Whether sailing three years on the seas or journeying thousands of days on firm land, they have the fear of his prestige and the love of his virtue. There is no place so distant that these do not penetrate. Our ancient Kings considered hitherto the practice of virtue as their only duty; they knew how to rule without being severe; they preserved and honoured the Three Jewels; they governed and helped the world and were happy if men practised righteousness. For myself I desire respectfully, in concert with the Son of Heaven, to magnify the Good Law in order to save creatures from the evil of transmigration. This is the reason why I charge four priests (*tao-jen*) to offer to His Majesty two white robes and a statue with an ivory pedestal, to be considered as a pledge of loyalty. I desire that His Majesty may send me a letter to convey his instructions to me."

Some time ago, on a visit to the Imperial Museum at Calcutta, my attention was attracted by a stone tablet containing a Sanskrit inscription which recorded the erection, by a certain Mahánáman, of a mansion of Buddha, probably a Buddhist temple or monastery, at Buddha-Gaya. The tablet was found in the course of excavations made by General Cunningham at that sacred spot, where also he found the pedestal of a Buddhist image containing a short inscription recording that the image was the "gift of the Sákya Bhikshu, the Sthavira Mahánáman, a resident of Ámradvipa." The bigger inscription records in lines 9—11:—"He who has the excellent name of Mahánáman, an inhabitant of Ámradvipa, a very ocean of a mighty family born in the island of Lan-ká, delighting in the welfare of others;—by him this beautiful mansion of the

Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of (the God) Smara, dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides, has been caused to be made at the exalted Bodhimanda." I wondered then whether this Mahánáman might be the monk of that name (uncle of King Dhátuséna), who composed the first part of the Pali *Mahāvamsa* in that reign (459—477 A.D., according to Turnour's reckoning, or 519—537 according to another reckoning founded on the date, now proposed, of Buddha's death, 483 B.C.)

Both the inscriptions will be found in Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III., pages 274—279. The shorter inscription bears no date and makes no reference to any king, but the characters are of the same period as the bigger inscription which bears date 269. If this refers to the Gupta era, (as Mr. Fleet holds), it would correspond to 588—89 A.D., which would render very unlikely the identification of Mahánáman with the author of the *Mahāvamsa*. M. Sylvain Lévi has cited some Chinese records which throw light on these inscriptions.

The Chinese traveller Hiouen-tsang (I. 487 *et seq.*, Julien's translation) mentions a legend concerning the monastery at Buddha-Gaya. The younger brother of a king of Ceylon, having gone on a pilgrimage to holy places, met there an unwelcome reception, and on his return to his native island induced his elder brother to erect near the Bodhi-tree, with the consent of the King of India, a monastery for the accommodation of Sinhalese devotees. More precise details are to be found in the memoir of Wang-Hiuen-t'se. He was a distinguished general and a contemporary of Hiouen-tsang, and visited Buddha-Gaya in 643 and 648. Having had his escort robbed and killed by the king on the second visit, he attacked the capital with the help of troops supplied by the kings of Nepal and Tibet and took the king prisoner to China in 648. Wang-Hiuen-t'se says (in the *Hing-tchoan*, chapter 29) with reference to the Sinhalese monastery at Buddha-Gaya:—"Formerly the king of Cheu-tzen (Ceylon) named *Chi-mi-kia-po-mo* (Śrī Meghavarma, or Śrī Meghavarna) which means in Chinese 'Cloud-worthy,' an Indian king, charged two monks (*bhikshu*) to go and visit this monastery. The elder monk was named *Mo-ho-nan*, which means 'Great name' (Mahánáman); the other was named *Iu-po* (Upa), which means 'Giver of Prophecy.' These two monks made homage to the Diamond throne of the Bodhi-tree. The monastery did not give them shelter. The two monks returned to their country. The King asked the monks, "You went to pay your homage to holy places. What good fortune do the omens declare, O monks?" They replied, "In the great country of Jambu-dvīpa (India) there is no place where one can live in peace." The King, hearing these words, sent people with precious stones to offer presents to the King *San-Meou-to lo-kiu-to* (Samudragupta). That is the reason why up to the present it is the monks of the kingdom of Ceylon who live in this monastery."

King Samudragupta's reign is fixed by Mr. Vincent Smith approximately between 345 and 380 A.D. (*Journal R. A. S.* 1897, page 909). M. Lévi considers 269, the date of the inscription, to refer not to the Gupta era but to the Śaka era. The date of the establishment of the monastery would then answer to 347 A.D., which is approximately the date of King Kirtisri Meghavarna (301-328 or, according to the other reckoning, 362-389) mentioned by Wang-Hiuen-t'se. The builder of the monastery cannot, therefore, be the author of the *Mahāvamsa* but must have been a brother of King Meghavarna.

M. Lévi also mentions a Buddhist saint named Vajrabodhi, an account of whose visits to Ceylon is included in the biography of his pupil Amogavajra and other Chinese works. Vajrabodhi was born in 661 and was the son of Isānakarma, a king of Central India. He studied, until he was 26 years old, at the great university of Nālanda in Behar. Then he travelled as a pilgrim as far as Kapilavastu, the birth place of Buddha. He afterwards directed his course to South India, the centre of the worship of Avalokitesvara. He visited Kānci (modern Kanchipuram or Conjeveram) a great Buddhist city, where at the request of the king he cured the country of a great drought. Being ordered by a vision to visit Ceylon and worship Manjusri in the Middle Empire, he crossed the sea to Ceylon, was received with great respect there and adored the holy relics, especially the Tooth of Buddha at the Abhayarājavihāre, where he remained six months. Then he went towards the south-east to ascend Lankāparvata (Adam's Peak). On the way he stopped at the Stupa of Buddha's Eye, then arrived at the city of the Seven Jewels, and passed into the kingdom of *Lou-ho-na* (Rohana). The ruler of this kingdom was a follower of the Hīnayāna School. Vajrabodhi lived a month there to explain to him the doctrines of the Mahāyāna. When he reached at last the foot of the mountain, he found the country wild, inhabited by wild beasts, and abounding in precious stones. After long waiting he was able to climb to the summit and contemplate the impression of Buddha's foot. From the summit he saw on the north-west the kingdom of Ceylon and on all other sides the ocean. At the foot of the mountain an enclosure of vegetation marked the fortifications of a city. The natives said it was the city of Lankā. The savages of the district came themselves to pay homage to the Master. He then returned to South India, where he was received with great honours by the King. On expressing his desire to go to worship Manjusri and propagate the doctrine, he was provided with an ambassador bearing presents to the Emperor of China. On the way he visited Ceylon, reaching the port of *Po-chi-li* (? Puttalam) in 24 hours from the Indian port. Thirty-five ships from Persia were there already, having come to take precious stones in barter. When the Persian merchants saw Vajrabodhi, they followed him with a unanimous emotion. The King of Ceylon, *Chi-li-Chi-lo* (Śri Sila), learning of the return of the Master, invited him to live in his palace, which he did for a month, and then left, followed

still by the faithful Persian merchants. A month's voyage brought them to *Fo-chi* (Bhoja), the king of which loaded him with honours. The end of the voyage was disastrous. All the merchants' ships were dispersed by a tempest, and Vajrabodhi's ship alone reached Canton, from which he arrived at the eastern capital in 720.

Altogether the whole series of Chinese records about Ceylon, which M. Sylvain Lévi has collected in the *Journal Asiatique*, is most interesting and valuable, not only in respect of information about Ceylon and its relations with China, but also as a means of checking the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa* during many centuries. So checked, the accuracy of the Sinhalese Chronicle is, in spite of slight disagreements, placed on a solid basis. M. Lévi's article, so far as it relates to Ceylon, should be early translated in full and embodied in our Journal.

I may mention that M. Lévi will be passing through Ceylon next autumn to deliver a course of lectures at the Calcutta University, and has most kindly acceded to my request to deliver an address here. An address has also been promised on Indian Art by M. Victor Goloubew, to whose art collections I have already referred. He is now lecturing on the subject at the Paris Sorbonne and will be revisiting Ceylon in the course of the year. Colombo is happily situated as a rendezvous of scholars, scientists and travellers from all parts of the world, and we ought to be thankful for the opportunities afforded by their presence to add to our knowledge. By association with savants from abroad and by our own researches, which will shortly receive an impetus when our University is established, may we not hope to make Ceylon once more a beacon-light, not merely of Buddhist faith and learning, as in the past, but of the combined culture of East and West?

9. The Bishop of Colombo, Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, in proposing a vote of thanks, said that Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam had at short notice and within a few days of his return to Ceylon presided that day at the Society's meeting and delivered a most interesting and instructive address. He had reviewed the work of the Society during the year, commenting on and acknowledging with discriminating praise the work of those who had helped the Society with their time, labour and learning. The speaker wished specially to endorse the high appreciation which Sir Ponnambalam had given expression to of the services of their late President, Mr. John Ferguson. Sir Ponnambalam had shown that during his long absence from Ceylon the interests of the Society were not absent from his mind. His conference with Professors in Europe and the extracts he had read from Chinese authors had thrown light on an interesting subject enveloped in mystery,—the relations between China and Ceylon during the Middle Ages. He had much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks.

10. The vote was seconded by the Venerable Archdeacon de Winton and carried with acclamation.

11. The meeting terminated at 10-30 p.m.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 13, 1914.

Present :

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt.,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt., M.L.C.,

Vice-President.

Mr. C. Hartley, M. A., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

„ A. M. Guṇasékera, Mudaliyár.

„ C. W. Horsfall.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.L.S.

Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate
Mudaliyár.

„ W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, and E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.,

Hony. Secretaries.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

Business :

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on 24th February, 1914.

2. Approved the election of the following gentlemen as Members of the Society :—

(1) Divitotawella Śrī Saranaṅkara, { Dr. Kobbekaduwe.
Buddhist High Priest of Uva : { T. Medhankara.
recommended by

(2) J. H. P. Balasuriya : recom- { R. C. Kailásapillai.
mended by { Simon de Silva.
{ J. M. Senaveratne.

(3) R. W. Byrde, C.C.S. : recom- { B. Horsburgh.
mended by { Andreas Nell.

(4) W. H. Perera, Advocate : recom- { E. W. Perera.
mended by { Gerard A. Joseph.

(5) A. A. Perera, Advocate : recom- { E. W. Perera.
mended by { Gerard A. Joseph.

3. (i) Read Circular No. 88 of 26th February, 1914, covering the opinions of Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, W. A. de Silva, and of Mr. J. Harward, President, as referee, on a Paper entitled: "Parákrama Báhu VI: re-investigated," by W. F. Gunawardhana Mudaliyár.

Resolved,—To notify the Mudaliyár in terms of the President's decision.

(ii) Read Circular No. 89 of 26th February, 1914, covering the opinions of Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and H. W. Codrington, on a Paper entitled: "The Buddha's Death, and Ceylon Chronology," by Mr. John M. Senaveratne.

Resolved, on a motion proposed by Mr. W. A. de Silva, seconded by Mudaliyár Simon de Silva,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication.

(iii) Read Circular No. 90 of 26th February, 1914, covering the opinions of A. M. Gunasékera Mudaliyár and Mr. E. W. Perera, on a Paper entitled: "The Popular Poetry of the Sinhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication.

(iv) Read memorandum by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, and connected papers in regard to the unperfected Agreement with the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., for printing the Society's publications.

Mr. Bell explained that a conference with the Manager of the Colombo Apothecaries Co. and the Manager of the Printing Department of the Company and the Secretaries of this Society was held that very morning to try and come to some definite settlement.

The Company had first agreed to print the Society's publications at Rs. 2.30 a page, but had since demanded Rs. 4.60 a page, in view of authors' corrections.

Subject to the approval of the Council, the Secretaries offered Rs. 3.00 a page, but this was not accepted.

Resolved,—That a sub-Committee consisting of Sir P. Arunachalam, Vice-President, Mr. E. W. Perera, Mr. C. W. Horsfall and the Secretaries do sound the undermentioned printing establishments with a view to coming to some agreement with regard to the printing of the Society's publications, viz:—

The Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd.
The Times of Ceylon.
The Ceylon Observer.
The Star Press, and
The Ceylonese.

(v) Read a letter from Mr. John M. Senaveratne, generously consenting to give his services, if desired, in supervising and checking the work of the clerk temporarily employed in listing books, &c., preparatory to compiling a Catalogue.

On a motion proposed by Dr. A. Nell and seconded by Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, it was resolved,—That Mr. J. M. Senaveratne be thanked for his generous offer and that he be asked to select a temporary clerk at Rs. 30·00 per mensem, and that the services of a peon at Rs. 10·00 per mensem be continued. It was also decided further to invite Mr. Senaveratne to accept the post of Honorary Librarian for the year.

(vi) Read letter from the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary dated 2nd April last, intimating that the Government grant to this Society will be increased from Rs. 500·00 to Rs. 1,500·00 in response to the application for aid towards the cost of translating historical references to Ceylon from Chinese works.

Resolved,—That the Government be thanked for complying with the request of the Council. Further resolved,—That Messrs. Backhouse and Giles be referred to the *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, in which Chinese references to Ceylon translated by M. Sylvain Lévi are given and they be asked if the extracts given cover all the references to Ceylon.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 31st, 1914.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers, K.C.B., Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Hartley, M. A. Vice-President.

Mr. E. M. J. Abeyesinhe.
 „ R. G. Anthonisz.
 „ R. L. Byrde, B.A., L.L.B.,
 C.C.S.
 „ J. H. P. Balasuriya.
 The Rt. Rd. Dr. E. A. Cop-
 leston, D.D.
 Mr. B. C. Cooray.
 „ H. L. de Mel, J. P.
 „ W. Charles de Silva, B. A.
 „ A. Simon de Silva.
 „ J. P. F. Dassanaiké.
 „ Armand de Souza.
 „ Simon de Silva, Gate
 Mudaliyár.
 Dr. S. Fernando, M.B., C.M.
 Mr. E. R. Goonaratna, Acting
 Maha Mudaliyár.
 „ A. M. Gunasékara, Muda-
 liyár.
 „ L. H. Gruning.
 „ C. W. Horsfall.

Dr. C. A. Hévavitárana.
 Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B. A.
 Lieut.-Col. T. G. Jayawar-
 dena.
 Mr. S. B. Kuruppu.
 „ J. T. Muttiah, Mudaliyár.
 „ A. E. Murrell.
 Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
 Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-
 at-Law.
 „ R. C. Proctor.
 „ A. E. Roberts.
 „ John M. Senaveratne.
 Dr. D. Schokman, F.R.C.S.
 Mr. C. C. J. Senaveratna.
 Revd. G. A. F. Senaratna.
 M. D. Sirinivásatissa Sthavira.
 G. Saranankara Sthavira.
 Mr. D. E. Wanigasuriya.
 „ D. A. Wickramasinghe.
 „ N. D. A. Wijesinhe Pa-
 dikára Mudaliyár.

Messrs. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S. and Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.,

Hony. Secretaries.

Visitors : Nine ladies and twenty-one gentlemen.

Business :

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting, held on 30th March, 1914.

2. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

3. His Excellency the Governor said : We have met together for the purpose—I am sure all are looking forward to it—of hearing Mr. Senaveratne, who will proceed to give his views,

scholarly views, on a matter of very great interest to us in Ceylon, and to everybody else interested in matters regarding the chronology of the East.

Ceylon is in the very distinguished position of possessing chronicles, the *Dipawansa* and the *Mahāwansa*, which are of great historical interest, an interest which perhaps in former years was regarded as being romantic. The work done by two scholars, one in India and the other in Ceylon, deserves particular mention: I mean James Prinsep in India and George Turnour in Ceylon. The chronicles which Ceylon can claim as her own production have received endorsement from other chronicles in other countries, where a relation has been established between land-marks in Eastern chronology—between *Aśoka* and *Dévānampiyatissa*, one of the great historical discoveries of the last century. Perhaps it was due to that interest chiefly that an interesting co-relation of chronicles established that the truth of one was confirmed by the facts of another. It is, I think, due to this that scholars still recognise in the chronicles the elements of a romantic character. There is a regard for the truth and an earnest desire to record what was felt to be the truth, though in some cases the truth has received embroidery, which no chronicles in any part of the world were without. Ceylon is particularly interesting by reason of her contributions to the history of past centuries and the discoveries of George Turnour. This should encourage the people of the Island to take an interest in the history of their own country. It is this which lends particular value to the paper which we are going to hear from Mr. Senaveratne. Personally, I feel that other members present may share my expectations of instruction, but nobody can share the instruction as fully as I myself, for beyond the date of Buddha's birth, with which I happen to be acquainted, I can claim no knowledge whatsoever of the subsequent dates on which Mr. Senaveratne is prepared to give his views to us.

4. Mr. John M. Senaveratne then read a summary of his paper.

THE DATE OF BUDDHA'S DEATH AND CEYLON CHRONOLOGY.

BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

When did Gautama Buddha die? The date hitherto advanced, and, till a year or two ago, very generally accepted, was 544 B. C. But Dr. Fleet, the great Oriental scholar, has recently established* that Buddha died, not in 544 B. C., but in 483 B. C., i. e., 61 years later than the date usually assigned to that event.

The correctness of Dr. Fleet's date is beyond question. Its accuracy has been so vindicated by the independent researches of other Oriental scholars that, I venture to think, there are few persons to-day, either in Ceylon or elsewhere, who still cling to the old tradition that Buddha died in 544 or 543 B. C. Professor Geiger, in his learned Introduction to his recent translation of the *Mahāvamsa*,[†] shows good reason for assuming the correctness of 483 B. C. as the year of Buddha's death, and so does Professor Wickremasinghe in his *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.[‡]

The correctness of the date 483 B. C. being taken as granted, the question arises: What was the tradition current in Ceylon about Buddha's death? There can be little hesitation about the answer. Sylvain Lévi, in his communication from the account of the Chinese Wang Hiuén ts'è,[§] proves conclusively the existence in Ceylon at the close of the 4th century A. D. of an era reckoned from 483 B. C., while

* *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 984; *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, "The day on which Buddha died," pp. 1-34.

† *Mahāvamsa*, Introduction, pp. XXII.-XL.

‡ *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I., p. 142, note 7; pp. 156, 157.

§ *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 316 et seq., 401 et seq; Geiger, *Intro. to Mahāvamsa*, XXXIX., XL.

Mr. E. R. Ayrton, the late Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, in his "Date of Buddhadasa of Ceylon from a Chinese source,"* and Professor Wickremasinghe in his *Epigraphia Zeylanica*,† present us with indubitable traces of the continued existence of the same era at the beginning of the 4th and 11th centuries respectively.

But what of the era after the 11th century? Was the reckoning having as point of departure 483 B. C. given up in the 12th century and a new reckoning substituted? Professor Wickremasinghe says "Yes," and urges as proof some ingenious calculations and deductions from two Indian inscriptions which the curious student will find stated in detail in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.‡ It is sufficient to mention here that he considers it "reasonable to conclude that the eleven Ceylon Kings from Udaya 3rd down to Parākrama (Nos. 111 to 121 in Wijesingha's table and Nos. 123 to 133 in my table) must have reigned between A. D. 1015 and 1046, that is, within a period of *only 31 years and not 85 or 95 as calculated by Turnour and Wijesingha respectively.*"§

With this as a starting-point Professor Wickremasinghe proceeds, in the following manner, to "account for" the years between the accession of Udaya 3rd in 1497 A. B. and that of Parākrama Pāṇḍya in 1590 A. B.:—

"This was a time of internal wars and foreign invasions, and complete anarchy seems to have prevailed in Ceylon. It is, therefore, most *probable* that the *chronicler could not obtain accurate information* regarding the length of the reigns during that period. He found that Udaya 3rd began his reign in 1497 A. B. and Parākrama Pāṇḍya in 1590 A. B., and, at the same time, he was *ignorant* of the important fact that these two dates represented *two different Buddhist eras*, the former placing the death of Buddha in 483 B. C. and the latter in 544 B. C. He must, therefore, have *taken it for granted* that the intervening period was *93 years*. (*i. e.* 1590-1497 A. B.) instead of 31 (*i. e.* 1046-1015 A. D.), and he accordingly adjusted the duration of the reigns, giving longer periods to those kings as to whose reigns he had no definite information."||

* J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 1142-1144.

+ Vol. I., pp. 79-80, 122-124, 155-157.

‡ *Id.*, pp. 79, 80.

§ *Id.*, p. 80.

|| *Id.*, p. 157.

All pure speculation, be it carefully noted, the passages italicised being my authority for this statement. In this connection, however, Professor Geiger says;

“Certainly, considering *the detail* in which the events of the period from Udaya 3rd to Parákrama Pāṇḍu are described by the *Culavamsa*, it is *difficult* to say at what point we should undertake to strike out the surplus of sixty-two years. The principal part must perhaps fall within the reign of Mahinda 5th and the interregnum that followed, for which 36 years and 12 years are set down. But that *the tradition regarding the period in question is not well established* is easily explained by the unrest and confusion which prevailed at that time.”*

I would, however, say in the same connection: “Certainly, considering *the detail* in which the events of the period from Udaya 3rd to Parákrama Pāṇḍu are described by the *Culavamsa*,” it is most unlikely that the surplus was added at this time. Even granting, however, that Professor Wickremasinghe is right, (I propose to deal fully with the Tanjore and Mānimangalam inscriptions† in a separate paper)—that the addition of the surplus took place at the time suggested by him, *i. e.*, the 11th century A. D.,—the fact remains that a similar addition, not of 62 years, but, curiously enough, of 93 years, took place at the close of the 15th century in the reign of Parákrama Báhu the 6th of Kótté, for proof of which fact see my remarks under the name of that king.

My theory, then, amounts simply to this: The era reckoned from 483 B. C. remained, not up to the 11th century only, but up to the end of the 15th century, when the new tradition,—that the Buddha died in 544 B. C.,—came in and soon ousted the old, creating no little confusion not so much during the transitional stage as in our own time.

The following “TABLE OF SOVEREIGNS,” revised and brought up to date, should prove useful. In this “TABLE” there are two sets of Christian Era dates: one set worked on the hypothesis that Buddha died in 483 B. C.

* Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Introd. p. XXX.

† Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II.

and the other on the hypothesis that Buddha died in 544 B. C. Of these I have adopted the former as correct.

The Śaka dates, which have been worked out from the Végiriya Dévāle Inscription,*—according to which the difference between the *Buddha warsha* and *Śaka warsha* is represented as being 620,—are throughout two years in excess of the equivalent Buddhist Era dates. This slight discrepancy may be adjusted later.

In the main, the *Mahāvamsa* has been followed in regard to the duration of reign of each sovereign. Parākrama Báhu the 2nd and his successors up to the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon are dealt with in more detail, as their reigns furnish a variety of material wherewith to prove the correctness of my theory that the era current in Ceylon up to the close of the 15th century was reckoned from 483 B. C.

* C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 294.

THE MAHÁVAṆṢA, OR THE GREAT DYNASTY.

No.	SOVEREIGN.	Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era.	Christian Era reckoned from 483 B.C.	Christian Era reckoned from 544 B.C.	Šaka Era.
1	Vijaya I.	Tammanā Nuvara	38	1-38	483-445	544-506	
	<i>Interregnum</i> (Upatissa, Regent)	Upatissa Nuvara					
2	Panduvāśudēva	"	(1)	38-39	445-444	506-505	
3	Abhaya	"	30	39-69	444-414	505-475	
	<i>Interregnum</i>	"	20	69-89	414-394	475-455	
4	Pandukābhaya	"	(17)	89-106	394-377	455-438	
5	Mutasiva	Anu'pura	70	106-176	377-307	438-368	
6	Dévānampiyatissa	"	60	176-236	307-247	368-308	
7	Uttiya	"	40	236-276	247-207	308-268	
8	Mahāsiva	"	10	276-286	207-197	268-258	
9	Sūratissa (Suvannapinda Tissa)	"	10	286-296	197-187	258-248	
10	Sēna	"	10	296-306	187-177	248-238	
11	Gutbika }	"	22	306-328	177-155	238-216	
12	Asela	"	10	328-338	155-145	216-206	
13	Elāra	"	44	338-382	145-101	206-162	
14	Dutthagāmani	"	24	382-406	101-77	162-138	
15	Saddhiatissa	"	18	406-424	77-59	138-120	
16	Thūlathana	"	1 mth 10 dys.	424	59	120	
17	Lanjatissa	"	9½	424-434	59-49	120-110	
18	Khollātanaḡa	"	6	434-440	49-43	110-104	
19	Vattagāmani (Walagam Báhu)	"	5 months	440	43	104	
20	Pulabatttha	"	3	440-443	43-40	104-101	
21	Bāhiya	"	2	443-445	40-38	101-99	
22	Paṇayama	"	7	445-452	38-31	99-92	

THE MAHÁVAṆṢA, OR THE GREAT DYNASTY.

No.	SOVEREIGN.	Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era.	Christian Era reckoned from 483 B.C.	Christian Era reckoned from 544 R.C.	Saka Era.
23	Pilayamara	Anu'pura	7 months.	452-453	31-30	92-91	
24	Dáthiya	"	2	453-455	30-28	91-89	
(19)	Vattagāmanī (2nd time)	"	15	455-470	28-13	89-74	
25	Mahācūli Mahātissa	"	14	470-484	13 B.C.-1 A.D.	74-60	
26	Chōranāga	"	12	484-496	1-13	60-48	
27	Kudā Tissa	"	3	496-499	13-16	48-45	
28	Siva I and Anula	"	1 yr. 2 mth.	499-500	16-17	45-44	
29	Vatuka and Anula	"	1 " 2 "	500-501	17-18	44-43	
30	Dārubbhatikātissa and Anula	"	1 " 1 "	501-502	18-19	43-42	
31	Niliya and Anula	"	6 months.	502-503	19-20	42-41	
32	Anula	"	4	503	20	41	
33	Kutākannatissa (Kālakanni or Makalan Tissa)	"	22	503-525	20-42	41-19	
34	Bhātika-Abhaya	"	28	525-553	42-70	19 B.C.-9 A.D.	
35	Mahādāthika Mahā-Nāga	"	12	553-565	70-82	9-21	
36	Āmanda-Gāmanī	"	9½	565-575	82-92	21-31	
37	Kanirajānu Tissa	"	3	575-578	92-95	31-34	
38	Cūlābhaya	"	1	578-579	95-96	34-35	
39	Sivali	"	4 months	579-580	96-97	35-36	
40	Ila-Nāga	"	about 1 year	580-581	97-98	36-37	
	Interregnum	"	(3)	581-584	98-101	37-40	
(40)	Ila-Nāga (2nd time)	"	6	584-590	101-107	40-46	
41	Candamukhasiva (Sandamuhunu)	"	8 7/12	590-599	107-116	46-55	
42	Yasāśālaka Tissa	"	7½	599-607	116-124	55-63	
43	Subha	"	6	607-613	124-130	63-69	

THE MAHĀVAṆṢA, OR THE GREAT DYNASTY.

No.	SOVEREIGN.	Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era.	Christian Era reckoned from 483 B.C.	Christian Era reckoned from 544 B.C.	Saka Era.
44	Vasabha	Anu'pura	44	613-657	130-174	69-113	[621 A.D. = 139 A.D. = 1 Saka 37-40
45	Vankanāsika Tissa	"	3	657-660	174-177	113-116	40-62
46	Gajabāhuka-Gāmani	"	22	660-682	177-199	116-138	62-68
47	Mahalla Nāga	"	6	682-688	199-205	138-144	68-92
48	Bhātika-Tissa	"	24	688-712	205-229	144-168	92-110
49	Kanīttha Tissa	"	18	712-730	229-247	168-186	110-112
50	Khujja Nāga (Cūla Nāga)	"	2	730-732	247-249	186-188	112-113
51	Kūmā Nāga (Kudda-Nāga)	"	1	732-733	249-250	188-189	113-132
52	Siri Nāga I.	"	19	733-752	250-269	189-208	132-154
53	Vohārika Tissa	"	22	752-774	269-291	208-230	154-166
54	Abhaya Nāga	"	12	774-786	291-303	230-242	166-168
55	Siri Nāga II.	"	2	786-788	303-305	242-244	168-169
56	Vijaya II.	"	1	788-789	305-306	244-245	169-173
57	Samgha Tissa I.	"	4	789-793	306-310	245-249	173-175
58	Samgha Bódhi I.	"	2	793-795	310-312	249-251	175-188
59	Gothābhaya (Mégghavannābhaya)	"	13	795-808	312-325	251-264	188-198
60	Jettha Tissa I.	"	10	808-818	325-335	264-274	198-225
61	Mahā Sēna	"	27	818-845	335-362	274-301	

THE SULUVAṆṢA, OR THE LOWER DYNASTY.

No.	SOVEREIGN.	Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era.	Christian Era reckoned from 483 B.C.	Christian Era reckoned from 544 B.C.	Šaka Era.
62	Siri-Māghavanna (Kitsirimevan)	Anu'pura	27	845-872	362-389	301-328	225-252
63	Jottha Tissa II.	"	9	872-881	389-398	328-337	252-261
64	Buddhadāsa (Bujas Raja)	"	28	881-909	398-426	337-365	261-289
65	Upatissa II.	"	42	909-951	426-468	365-407	289-331
66	Mahā Nāma	"	22	951-973	468-490	407-429	331-353
67	Sothhisēna (Sengot Raja)	"	1 day	973	490	429	353
68	Chattagāhaka (Jantu or Lemeutissa)	"	1	973-974	490-491	429-430	353-354
69	Mitta Sēna (Karalsōra)	"	1	974-975	491-492	430-431	354-355
70	Pandu	"	5	975-980	492-497	431-436	355-360
71	Parinda	"	3	980-983	497-500	436-439	360-363
72	Khudda Pārinda	"	16	983-999	500-516	439-455	363-379
73	Tiritara	"	2 months	999	516	455	379
74	Dāthiya	"	3	999-1002	516-519	455-458	379-382
75	Pithiya	"	7 months	1002	519	458	382
76	Dhātu-Sēna (Dāsenkeliya)	"	18	1002-1020	519-537	458-476	382-400
77	Kassapa I.	Anu'pura & Sigiriya	18	1020-1038	537-555	476-494	400-418
78	Moggallāna (Mugalan)...	Anu'pura	18	1038-1056	555-573	494-512	418-436
79	Kumārādāsa (Kumāra Dhātusēna)	"	9	1056-1065	573-582	512-521	436-445
80	Kirti Sēna	"	9 months	1065-1066	582-583	521-522	445-446
81	Siva II. (Medi Sivu)	"	25 days	1066	583	522	446
82	Upatissa III. (Lemoni Upatissa)	"	1½	1066-1067	583-584	522-523	446-447
83	Silākāla (Ambaherana Salamēvan)	"	13	1067-1080	584-597	523-536	447-460
84	Dāthāpabhūti I. (Dapulu Sen)	"	6 mths. 6 ds.	1080	597	536	460
85	Moggallāna II. (Dala or Sulu Mugalan)	"	20	1080-1100	597-617	536-556	460-480

THE SULUVANSA, OR THE LOWER DYNASTY.

No.	SOVEREIGN.	Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era.	Christian Era reckoned from 483 B.C.	Christian Era reckoned from 544 B.C.	Saka Era.
86	Kittisiri Méghavanna (Kudá Kitisiri Mevan)	Anu'pura	19 days	1100	617	556	480
87	Malá Nága (Sonevi or Lemenisingána)	"	3	1100-1103	617-620	556-559	480-483
88	Aggabódhi I. (Agbó or Akbó)	"	34	1103-1137	620-654	559-593	483-517
89	Aggabódhi II. (Kudá Akbó)	"	10	1137-1147	654-664	593-603	517-527
90	Sangha Tissā	"	2 months	1147	664	603	527
91	Moggallāna III. (Dala Mugalan or Lemenibóná)	"	6	1147-1153	664-670	603-609	527-533
92	Siláméghavanna (Asiggráhaka Silámégha)	"	9	1153-1162	670-679	609-618	533-542
93	Aggabódhi III. (Siri Sangha Bódhi II.)	"	6 months	1162	679	618	542
94	Jetha Tissā III. (Lemoni Katusara or Dénu Tissā)	"	5 months	1162	679	618	542
(93)	Aggabódhi III. (2nd time)	"	12	1162-1174	679-691	618-630	542-554
95	Dúthópa Tissā (Dalupattissa)	"	12	1174-1186	691-703	630-642	554-566
96	Kassapa II. (Pesulu Kasubu or Kasup)	"	9	1186-1195	703-712	642-651	566-575
97	Dáppula I.	Anu'pura & Rohana	3	1195-1198	712-715	651-654	575-578
98	Hatthadáttha I. (Dáthápabhúti II.)	Anu'pura	9	1198-1207	715-724	654-663	578-587
99	Aggabódhi IV. (Siri Sangha Bódhi III.)	"	16	1207-1223	724-740	663-679	587-603
100	Dátttha (Valpitivasudatttha)	"	2	1223-1225	740-742	679-681	603-605
101	Hatthadáttha II. (Hannunaru Riyandula)	"	6 months	1225	742	681	605
102	Mánavanna (Mahakápana)	"	35	1225-1260	742-777	681-716	605-640
103	Aggabódhi V.	"	6	1260-1268	777-783	716-722	640-646
104	Kassapa III.	"	6	1266-1272	783-789	722-728	646-652
105	Mahinda I. (Pesulu Akbó)	"	3	1272-1275	789-792	728-731	652-655

THE SULUVANSA, OR THE LOWER DYNASTY.

No.	SOVEREIGN.	Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era.	Christian Era reckoned from 483 B.C	Christian Era reckoned from 544 B.C.	Saka Era.
106	Aggabódhi VI. (Siláméggha)	Anu'pura	40	1275-1315	792-832	731-771	655-695
107	Aggabódhi VII. (Kudá Akbó)	P'naruwa	6	1315-1321	832-838	771-777	695-701
108	Mahinda II. (Salamévay Mihindu)	Anu'pura	20	1321-1341	838-858	777-797	701-721
109	Dáppula II. (Udaya Raja)	"	5	1341-1346	858-863	797-802	721-726
110	Mahinda III. (Dhammika Siláméggha)	"	4	1346-1350	863-867	802-806	726-730
111	Aggabódhi VII. (Medi Akbó)	"	11	1350-1361	867-878	806-817	730-741
112	Dáppula III. (Kudá Dáppula)	Beramin-Paya	16	1361-1377	878-894	817-833	741-757
113	Aggabódhi IX. (Pesulu Akbó)	Anu'pura	3	1377-1380	894-897	833-836	757-760
114	Séna I. (Siláméggha Sénu or Matvallasen)	P'naruwa	20	1380-1400	897-917	836-856	760-780
115	Séna II. (Mungaynisen)	"	35	1400-1435	917-952	856-891	780-815
116	Udaya I	"	11	1435-1446	952-963	891-902	815-828
117	Kassapa IV.	"	17	1446-1463	963-980	902-919	826-843
118	Kassapa V.	"	10	1463-1473	980-990	919-929	843-853
119	Dáppula IV.	"	7 months	1473	990	929	853
120	Dáppula V.	"	12	1473-1485	990-1002	929-941	853-865
121	Udaya II.	"	3	1485-1488	1002-1005	941-944	865-868
122	Séna III.	"	9	1488-1497	1005-1014	944-953	868-877
123	Udaya III.	"	8	1497-1505	1014-1022	953-961	877-885
124	Séna IV.	"	3	1505-1508	1022-1025	961-964	885-888
125	Mahinda IV.	"	16	1508-1524	1025-1041	964-980	888-904
126	Séna V.	"	10	1524-1534	1041-1051	980-990	904-914
127	Mahinda V.	Anu'pura	36	1534-1570	1051-1087	990-1026	914-950
	<i>Interregnum</i>	P'naruwa & Rohana	(12) days	1570-1582	1087-1099	1026-1038	950-962
128	Kirti	Rohana	8 days	1582	1099	1038	962
129	Mahálana Kirti	Kalutara	3	1582-1585	1099-1102	1038-1041	962-965
130	Vikrama Pandu	"	1	1585-1586	1102-1103	1041-1042	965-966

THE SULUVANSA, OR THE LOWER DYNASTY.

No.	SOVEREIGN.	Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era.	Christian Era reckoned from 483 B.C.	Christian Era reckoned from 544 B.C.	Saka Era.
131	Jagatipála	Rohana	4	1586-1590	1103-1107	1042-1046	966-970
132	Parákrama Pandiya I	"	2	1590-1592	1107-1109	1046-1048	970-972
133	Lókésvara I (Senevi)	"	6	1592-1598	1109-1115	1048-1054	972-978
134	Vijaya Báhu I. (Mahalu Vijaya Bā)	P'narua & Anu'pura	55	1598-1653	1115-1170	1054-1109	978-1033
135	Jaya Báhu I.	"	1	1653-1654	1170-1171	1109-1110	1033-1034
136	Vikrama Báhu I	"	21	1654-1676	1171-1192	1110-1131	1034-1055
137	Gaja Báhu II	"	22	1676-1697	1192-1214	1131-1153	1055-1077
138	Parákrama Báhu I. "the Great"	"	33	1697-1730	1214-1247	1153-1186	1077-1110
139	Vijaya Báhu II. (Pandita)	"	1	1730-1731	1247-1248	1186-1187	1110-1111
140	Mahinda VI (Kilinkesdā Mihindu)	"	5 days	1731	1248	1187	1111
141	Kirti Nissanka Malla	"	9	1731-1740	1248-1257	1187-1196	1111-1120
142	Vira Báhu I	"	1 day	1740	1257	1196	1120
143	Vikrama Báhu II.	"	3 months	1740	1257	1196	1120
144	Cōdaganga	"	9 months	1740-1741	1257-1258	1196-1197	1120-1121
145	Lilávati	"	3	1741-1744	1258-1261	1197-1200	1121-1124
146	Sāhasa Malla	"	2	1744-1746	1261-1263	1200-1202	1124-1126
147	Kalyānavati	"	6	1746-1752	1263-1269	1202-1208	1126-1132
148	Dharmāsoka	"	1	1752-1753	1269-1270	1208-1209	1132-1133
149	Anikanga (Eniyanga)	"	17 days	1753	1270	1209	1133
(145)	Lilávati (2nd time)	"	1	1753-1754	1270-1271	1209-1210	1133-1134
150	Lókésvara II.	"	9 months	1754-1755	1271-1272	1210-1211	1134-1135
(145)	Lilávati (3rd time)	"	7 months	1755	1272	1211	1135
151	Parákrama Pandiya II.	"	1	1755-1756	1272-1273	1211-1212	1135-1136
152	Māgha (Kālinga Vijaya Báhu)	"	19	1756-1775	1273-1292	1212-1231	1136-1155

THE SULUVAṆSA, OR THE LOWER DYNASTY.

No.	SOVEREIGN	Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era.	Christian Era reckoned from 483 B.C.	Christian Era reckoned from 544 B.C.	Saka Era.
* {	Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. ...	Kóitô	7	2008-2015	1464-1471	1386-1393	
	Pandita Parákrama Báhu VII.	"	11	2015-2029	1471-1485	1393-1407	
	Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII.	"	20	2029-2049	1485-1505	1407-1427	
	Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX.	"	22	2049-2071	1505-1527	1427-1449	
	Vijaya Báhu VII. ...	"	7	2071-2078	1527-1534	1449-1456	
	Bhuvaneka Báhu VIII.	"	8	2078-2086	1534-1542	1456-1464	
	[Vira Vikrama] ...	Senk' dagala					
	[Máýáduṇṇe] ...	Sitáwaka					
170	Don Juan Dharmapala	J'pura Kótté	47	2094-2141	1551-1598	1473-1520	
171	Rája Sinha I.	Sitáwaka	11	2124-2135	1581-1592	1503-1511	
172	Vimala Dharmasúriya I.	Kandy	12	2135-2147	1592-1604	1514-1526	
173	Sónaratna ...	"	30	2147-2177	1604-1634	1526-1556	
174	Rája Sinha II.	"	50	2177-2227	1634-1684	1556-1606	
175	Vimala Dharmasúriya II.	"	22	2227-2249	1684-1706	1606-1628	
176	Śri Vira Parákrama Naréन्द्रa Sinha	"	33	2249-2282	1706-1739	1628-1661	
177	Śri Vijaya Rája Sinha...	"	8	2282-2290	1739-1747	1661-1669	
178	Kirti Śri Rája Sinha	"	33	2290-2323	1747-1780	1669-1702	
179	Śri Rájádhi Rája Sinha	"	18	2323-2341	1780-1798	1702-1720	
180	Śri Vikrama Rája Sinha	"	17	2341-2358	1798-1815	1720-1737	

* These form part of the usually accepted list of Kings of Ceylon immediately succeeding Jaya Bahu II. (No. 168) and the dates appearing after their names are those assigned to them in the Keralia Report (p. 15). The present paper maintains, among other things, that the first and the last of three six, Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., were one and the same person, and that the intervening four Kings never ruled as independent sovereigns, even if they lived.

PARÁKRAMA BÁHU II.

(Kalikála Sáhitya Sarvagna Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu)

A. B. 1779—1814; A. D. 1296—1331; Śaka 1159—1194.

This is No. 154 of my Table and No. 143 in Wijesinha's. Mr. Bell in his *Kégalla Report** names him Parákrama Báhu the *Third*, and adds: "Turnour puts this king's reign between 1267-1301 A.D., or 34 years. The *Mahávaṇsa* editors (allotting the 35 years' rule given in that work) assign the period between 1240-1275 A. D. The *Rájávaliya* reduces the reign to 32 years: so does the *Pújávaliya*, a contemporaneous record." According to the *Attanagaḷu-vaṇsa*,† "Parákrama Báhu was inaugurated king in the 1824th year from the period at which our adorable, sanctified, omniscient, supreme Buddha, after sitting under the Bódhi, and overcoming the forces of Mára, had attained to the pre-eminent Buddhahood." The attainment of Buddhahood being usually calculated at 45 years prior to the *Nirváṇa*, 1824-45=1779 A.B., which would, therefore, according to the *Attanagaḷu-Vaṇsa*, be the date of accession of Parákrama Báhu II. The date in my Table is, therefore, correct. In this reign a meeting was held of the Councillors of the two Sects of priests under the leadership of the Supreme Théra Aranyaka Médhaṅkara (the chief pupil of the Maha Théra Buddha-vaṇsa Vanaratana of the Dimbulagala succession), preparatory to the purging of the Buddhist church. Not long after this, according to the *Nikáya Saṅgrahawa*,‡ "1809 years had elapsed since the death of Buddha," i.e., 1809-483=1326 A. D. It has been considered that this implies "the abdication (though not necessarily the death) of Parákrama Báhu in 1809 A. B."§

* p. 77.

† James d' Alwis' Translation, p. 126.

‡ Edited by Mudaliyár W. F. Guṇawardhana, p. 23. *Vide* also *Rájaratnákara*.§ *Kégalla Report*, p. 77.

1779 A.B.—1296 A.D.—Feast of Coronation of Parákrama Báhu II.*

1790 A.B.—1307 A.D.—Invasion by Malays (Tamils) under Candabhánu repulsed by Prince Víra Báhu.†

1804 A.B.—1321 A.D.—Convocation of Priests and purging of the Buddhist church.

—The King builds the Parákrama Báhu Píriveṇa.‡

1809 A.B.—1326 A.D.—“Handing over of the government of the Kingdom”§ to Vijaya Báhu, eldest son of Parákrama Báhu.

—Vijaya Báhu restores Pulatthi (Polonnaruwa.)||

—Composition of the *Attanagālu-vihāra-vaṇsa*¶ and the *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa*. At this time also Parákrama Báhu writes the *Kausiḷumīṇa* and *Visuddhi Magga Sanna*.

1814 A.B.—1331 A.D.—Death of Parákrama Báhu II. and accession of Vijaya Báhu IV.**

(BÓSAT) VIJAYA BÁHU IV.

A.B. 1814—1819; A.D. 1331—1333; Śaka 1194—1196.

No. 155. He reigned two years only as an independent sovereign, though he administered the government of the country in the life-time of his father, probably from 1809 to 1814 A.B. He was murdered by General Mitta “in the second year of his reign.”††

* *Mahāvāṇsa* (Wijesīṇha) ch. 82, verse 2, p. 228.

† *Id.*, p. 233.

‡ Kégalla Report, p. 77, Nāranbeḍda Inscription; *Mahāvāṇsa*, p. 239.

§ *Mahāvāṇsa* (Wijesīṇha), p. 249.

|| *Id.*, p. 255.

¶ Alwis' *Descriptive Catalogue* (p. 34): “According to the above record (inscription at Attanagala) and the tenor of other passages in the *Mahāvāṇsa*, the *Attanagaluvāṇsa* must have been written... during the latter part of the reign of Parákrama, when that monarch had retired from the active labours of his life by entrusting the government to Wijaya Báhu.”

** *Mahāvāṇsa*, p. 258.

†† *Id.*, ch. 90, p. 258.

BHUVANEKA BÁHU I.

A.B. 1816—1827; A.D. 1333—1344; Śaka 1196—1207.

No. 156. Reigned 11 years* during which there were two Tamil invasions. The first was successfully repelled, but the other under the Pāṇḍian minister “Cakkavatti” was disastrous to the country, the land being laid waste and the Tooth-relic carried away and delivered to King Kulasékhara of Pāṇḍya. During this reign the *Three Piṭakas* were written by learned scribes and the Pāli scriptures spread throughout the land.† The first arrival of the Moors in Ceylon is said to have taken place in the 8th year of Bhuvaneka Báhu’s reign, *i.e.*, in 1824 A.B.=1341 A.D.: “In 1829 a Council of Sinhalese Chiefs presided over by Molligoda Mahá Nilamé reported that the Moors first arrived in Ceylon in the year of Buddha 1824 when Kader Shah led a number of them from the Choromandel coast and waged war. He was defeated, but some of his men were permitted to settle down in the country, where they inter-married with one of the five Naide castes, and were rendered liable to the same *Rájakáriya* as the Fisher caste (Karáwo).”‡

1816 A.B.—1333 A.D.—Accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu I.

Invasion by and defeat of Kálinga
Ráyar, Códaganga and others.
Extension of the city of Sub-
hácala.

1824 A.B.—1341 A.D.—First arrival of Moors in Ceylon.

1827 A.B.—1344 A.D.—Invasion by “Cakkavatti” and
the Tooth-relic carried away to
Pandya.

Death of Bhuvaneka Báhu I.

* *Mahāvamsa*, p. 260.

† *Id.*‡ Mr. Paul E. Pieris’ *The Portuguese Era*, Vol. I., p. 447, note 15.

PARÁKRAMA BÁHU III.

A.B. 1827—1832; A.D. 1344—1349; Śaka 1207—1212.

No. 157. Reigned 5 years according to Turnour's list. The *Mahāvamsa* is silent in regard to the duration of his reign.

1827 A.B.—1344 A.D.—Accession of Parákrama Báhu III.

—Recovery of Tooth-relic from King Kulasékhara of Pándya.

1832 A.B.—1349 A.D.—*Tudapata* (N. W. P., No. 3397) granted by Parákrama Báhu in Śaka 1212 to Savulu Bāla Súriya Jaya Mahā Mudaliyā, direct descendant of Bāla Súriya Bandāra, son of Súriya Got Kumāra, who escorted the branch of the Sacred Bó-Tree.*

(VAT-HIMI) BHUVANEKA BÁHU II.

A.B. 1832—1834; A.D. 1349—1351; Śaka 1212—1214.

No. 158. According to the *Mahāvamsa*† he reigned two years and each year celebrated the feast of his coronation.

(PANDITA) PARÁKRAMA BÁHU IV.

A.B. 1834—(1867); A.D. 1351—(1384); Śaka 1214—(1247).

No. 159. There is no mention in any reliable chronicle of the exact duration of reign either of this king or of his two successors, Vanni Bhuvaneka Báhu III. and Vijaya Báhu V. (sometimes termed Vira Báhu II. and Jaya Báhu), but it is possible to make an approximate calculation which

* C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 343. As my Śaka dates are in each case two years in excess of the equivalent *Buddhawarsha*, this *tudapata* ought properly to be ascribed to Parákrama Báhu IV. who, though appearing in my Table to have begun reigning in Śaka 1214, actually ascended the throne in Śaka 1212. The discrepancy of 2 years is not adjusted in the present paper for reasons stated below.

† Ch. 90, p. 261.

might be revised later with fuller knowledge and with the discovery of inscriptions, sannas, &c., if any. Now 1834 A.B. (1351 A.D.) is at least a more or less correct date for the accession of Parákrama Báhu IV. That being assumed, let us turn to Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., of whom both the *Mahávaṇsa* and the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava**—as also the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* and the *Rājaratnākaraya*,—tell us that “in the fourth year of his reign 1894 years had elapsed since the death of the Buddha.”

Tassa chatutthake vasse Muninibbānato pana
 ékasahassam kho atthasatamgi chaturādhikam
 navutisamvachchharātitaṃ vinneyyam nayadassinā.†

If his fourth year is 1894 A.B., his first year is obviously 1890 A.B. and 1890 A.B. must also, obviously, be the last year of Vijaya Báhu V., his predecessor. We have, then, 1894 A.B. for the accession of Parákrama Báhu IV., and 1890 A.B. for the end of the reign of Vijaya Báhu V. The difference is $1890 - 1834 = 56$ years, which represent the total length of the reigns of Parákrama Báhu IV., Bhuvaneka Báhu III. and Vijaya Báhu V. These 56 years must, therefore, be split up among these three kings, in what proportion it must for the time being be more or less speculative.

Firstly, then, let us give 13 years to Vijaya Báhu V., which would make 1877 A.B. the year of his accession, since we know his reign ended in 1890 A.B. Secondly, let us give 10 years to his predecessor, Vanni Bhuvaneka Báhu III., and the latter's regnal years would, therefore, be 1867—1877 A.B. There remain then 33 years ($13 + 10 + 33$) to be assigned to Parákrama Báhu IV., and the proportion seems justified considering the *comparative length* which the reign of this king occupies in the pages of the *Mahávaṇsa*.

* p. 24.

† “It should be understood, by any one who is looking for guidance, that at his 4th year there had passed 1894 years since the death of the Sage.” *Mahávaṇsa*, ch. 90, vv. 108, 109.

Besides, we know that Parākrama Báhu was still on the throne in Śaka 1246 (1384—85 A.D.), in which year the *Daḷadā Śirita* was written : *Śaka vasinek dahas de siya sassāḷassa pīruṇu sanda sasiribara me siri Laka raja pēmini raja gemini Perakumbā nirindu Śaka lasa me pin karaṇa ladi.**

The following tabulated list will make reference easy :

158 Bhuvaneka Báhu II.	2 years	A.B. 1832-1834	A.D. 1349-1351
159 Parākrama Báhu IV.	33 „	A.B. 1834-(1867)	A.D. 1351-(1384)
160 Bhuvaneka Báhu III.	10 „	A.B. (1867-1877)	A.D. (1384-1394)
161 Vijaya Báhu V.	13 „	A.B. (1877)-1890	A.D. (1394)-1407
162 Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.	4 „	A.B. 1890-1894	A.D. 1407-1411

The periods of 33, 10 and 13 years for Nos. 159, 160 and 161 respectively are more or less speculative and are employed only to serve as a working hypothesis. Bhuvaneka Báhu III. might probably have reigned a few years more than 10, in which case there would be a corresponding decrease in the regnal years of his successor. That, however, the three kings together ruled for 56 years slightly more or less there can be little doubt.

The portion of the *Mahāvamsa* recording the events subsequent to the reign of Parākrama Báhu IV. was written in the middle of the 18th century in the reign of Kirti Śrī Rāja Siṅha, i.e. about 400 years later.†

A.B. 1834—A.D. 1351—Accession of Parākrama Báhu IV.

—Translation of the *Pansiya-Panas-Jātaka*.‡

—“ A new city with fine walls and gates ”§ built in the “ pleasant country called Māyādhānu.”¶

A.B. 1867—A.D. 1384—*Daḷadā Śirita* written in Śaka 1246.

—Death of Parākrama Báhu IV.

* C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII, p. 420, note §.

† *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. 99, vv. 77-82. This “portion” begins with verse 105 of ch. 90.

‡ *Id.*, p. 262.

§ Can this be Ambulugala Nuwara? *Vide* the Ambulugala *Sannasa* granted in the succeeding reign. Mr. Codrington is, however, of opinion that this “new city” is “*Alutnuwara*” in Meda Pattuwa of the Kēgalla District. The probability is that he is right. *Vide* the *Galakepu Hēlla*, in which the beauties of Alutnuwara and the virtues of its patron deity, Dedimunda Baṇḍāra, are extolled.

¶ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 263. The “country called Māyādhānu” is the country round about Sitāvaka.

(VANNI) BHUVANEKA BÁHU III.

No. 160. *Vide* my remarks on No. 159 for the duration of Bhuvaneka Báhu's reign. That "Jayawardhanapura" (Kótté), not Kurunégala, was the capital of this king there is now good ground for believing. If nothing else, there is (if genuine) the Adippola *Sannasa* granted to Súriahetti Mudiánse in Śaka 1247 by Bhuvaneka Báhu "of Kótté," and there is also "the old Ambuḷugala *Sannasa*"" held by the descendants of Hiṭi Baṇḍára, to whom it was granted by Bhuvaneka Báhu at *Jayawardhanapura* "in Śaka 1254." De Marignolli, who visited Ceylon between 1339 and 1353, refers to Kótté as a place "where I have been," and Col. Yule states that Kótté Jayawardhanapura is first mentioned as a royal residence about 1314 A.D.† And Mr. Bell says that this date, 1314, "is manifestly a printer's error for 1364 or 1374 A.D."‡ In Fra Mauro's great map, Kótté, under the name of *Cotte Civitas*, appears to be represented as the capital of the Island at the beginning of the 15th century. The Ambuḷugala *Sannasa*, referred to above, records that Ambuḷugala Vihára, then called *Śrī Danta Páya*, had been built by the father of the reigning king "by cutting down the mango tree (*amba vraksha*) at Ambuḷugala in Megoda-Pattuwa of Galbaḍa Kóralé, in Satara Kóralébada." The "father of the reigning king" would, therefore, be Parákrama Báhu IV., who, as we have read above, built "a new city with fine walls and gates (Ambuḷugala or Alut Nuvara) in the pleasant country called Máyádhánu."§

A.B. 1867—A.D. 1384—Accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu III.
—Adippola *Sannasa* granted in Śaka 1247.

A.B. 1876—A.D. 1393—Ambuḷugala *Sannasa* granted in Śaka 1254.

A.B. 1877—A.D. 1394—Death of Bhuvaneka Báhu III.

* Kégalla Report, p. 42.

† *Cathay and the way thither*, II., p. 369.

‡ C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 335, note *.

§ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 263.

VIJAYA BÁHU V.

A.B. (1877)-1890; A.D. (1394)-1407; Śaka (1257)-1270.

No. 161. *Vide* my remarks on No. 159 for the duration of this king's reign. According to my calculation and dates it was this king, Vijaya Báhu V.—not Vijaya Báhu VI. as is popularly supposed—who was carried away captive by the Chinese, if indeed there was such a captive as the *Rájávaliya** tells us. It is impossible in the present paper, in view of its length, to go into the matter in detail and discuss the proofs as thoroughly as I would desire, but I shall state here broadly a few cogent reasons why the Vijaya Báhu of the Chinese captivity must be the 5th and not the 6th.†

Firstly, then, be it remembered that the *Rájávaliya* is the only Sinhalese chronicle, so far as I can remember, which makes mention of the capture of Vijaya Báhu by the Chinese‡ Now, *was Vijaya Báhu captured prior to or subsequent to the building of New Jayawardhanapura (Kótté) by Alakéśvara?* Every modern work, every modern writer, dealing with this period, places the event *after* the building of New Jayawardhanapura. Even so recently as 1912, this was the view expressed in a paper§ read before this Society, and all those who took part in the discussion that followed, (and they included all our foremost scholars to-day) accepted its correctness unquestioningly. But the *Rájávaliya*—(as also Valentyn, who followed a fuller and more reliable *Rájávaliya* than the one now extant),—which, be it noted, is our *sole authority* for the capture of the king, says that Vijaya Báhu was carried away captive by the Chinese *prior*

* Guṇasékara's edition, p. 66

† The predecessor of Parákrama Báhu VI.

‡ For the seeming reference in the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, see below. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, Chief Sinhalese Translator to Government, tells me that one MS reads : ඉන්බිති පුරානානකම් සෙන් ජින (not වින) මාසමට අසුවනිසසද, which would put rather a different complexion on the matter.

§ "Vijaya Báhu VI.," by Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár. (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol XXII., p. 316).

to the building of New Jayawardhanapura by Alakéśvara. Now, the *Rājāvaliya* is either right or wrong. If the latter (which nobody admits), then all that it says in this connection at least should be rejected *in toto*. If, however, the *Rājāvaliya* is right (and this is implied in the popular belief that Vijaya Báhu *was* captured), then the facts stated therein must be taken in the sequence given them on page 66 of that work. And that sequence damns the popular theory and places the Chinese invasion *prior* to the building of New Jayawardhanapura, in which case the captive king was obviously Vijaya Báhu V., as I maintain. That granted, it follows necessarily that the tradition current in Ceylon up to and at the beginning of the 15th century was that the Buddha died in 483 B.C., not 544 B.C.

But there is stronger support still for the correctness of my view that it was Vijaya Báhu V. who was captured by the Chinese. The popular opinion is that the Bhuvaneka Báhu who fled to Alakéśvara at Rayigama on the Tamil invasion was Bhuvaneka Báhu V., not the 4th :

“ On hearing this (news of the invasion), Bhuvaneka Báhu V., who had succeeded Wikkrama Báhu III., although he had a large army with him, could not muster up courage to fight the Tamils, and with a single follower fled from Gampola and sought the protection of his Minister at Rayigama. After the final overthrow of the Tamils, Bhuvaneka Báhu V. returned to Gampola, but his subjects swore they would have no coward for their sovereign, and the old king went back to reign at Kótté under the aegis of his great Minister, whose power overshadowed the Crown.”*

All which means that Bhuvaneka Báhu V. began his chequered reign at Gampola, fled thence in fear to Rayigama on the approach of the Tamil hordes, returned to Gampola on the expulsion of the Tamils: but, as the people refused to receive a pusillanimous king, turned his steps to Kótté, where he continued to rule subsequently. There is, how-

* “ Alakéśvara: his life and times,” C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XVIII., pp. 287, 289.

ever, no warrant in sober history for so romantic an episode in the life of Bhuvaneka Báhu V. The *Mahávaṇsa* tells us simply that he ascended the Kótté throne,* and four at least of his *sannas*,†—Mámpé: 4th year,‡ Demaḷadúwa: 10th year,§ Ganégoḍa: 26th year,|| and Goḍagama: 29th year,¶—all issued from Jayawardhana Kótté and attested by *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*, indicate that he had no more than one capital.

Who then was the Bhuvaneka Báhu of the Tamil invasion? There is good ground for believing that he is identical with the Bhuvaneka Báhu of the Laṅkátilaka and Gaḍaládeniya inscriptions,** “the nephew of Parákrama Báhu” who “remained in the city of Gampola,”†† the same of whom Valentyn’s *Rájávaliya* says: “At that time there reigned in the high-country of Candi the King *Boewanaca Báhu Raja* who was also King in Degampala,” Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., who “became King in the city of Gangásiripura.”‡‡

Now for the events leading to the formal accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. (from a minor kingship§§) to the overlordship of Laṅká. The Chinese had “carried away King Vijaya Báhu” and “after this there was no king in Laṅká; but the nephew of Parákrama Báhu (*i. e.* Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.), remained (ruled) in the city of Gampola.”

There is undoubtedly more than one gap in the *Rájávaliya* narrative (Gunaśékara’s edition) of this period. The first gap occurs after the 2nd line, page 66, which refers to the death of Parákrama Báhu II., and the accession of

* Chap. 91, verse 9.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXII., p. 290.

‡ *Id.*, p. 271.

§ *Id.*, p. 272.

|| Kégalla Report, p. 91.

¶ *Id.*, p. 91, *Satyasamuchchaya* and *Jnánádarsaya*, Vol. IV., part 44, August, 1900.

** C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. X., No. 34, pp. 83—95.

†† *Rájávaliya*, p. 66.

‡‡ *Nikáya Saṅgrahawa*, p. 24; *Mahávaṇsa*, ch. 90, verse 107.

§§ Possibly at Valentyn’s “Degampala” (Gampola).

|| *Rájávaliya*, p. 66.

his eldest son, Bósat Vijaya Báhu (1818 A.B.—1331 A.D.). The events of the reigns of Bósat Vijaya Báhu, Bhuvaneka Báhu I., Parákrama Báhu III., Bhuvaneka Báhu II., Pandita Parákrama Báhu IV., Vanni Bhuvaneka Báhu III., up to the last year of Vijaya Báhu V., 1407—8, covering a period of about 76 years, are then omitted. Vijaya Báhu's capture by the Chinese is next mentioned and the earliest event of the reign of his successor, Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., described. Then follows another gap, the omission this time being the reigns of Parákrama Báhu V., and Vikrama Báhu III., and the confusion of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. with Bhuvaneka Báhu V., the reign of the latter being made to coincide with the events that really took place in the time of Parákrama Báhu V. and Vikrama Báhu III. The reign of Vijaya Báhu VI. is next entirely omitted. When the fact is borne in mind that the gaps occur, curiously enough, in connection with three Vijaya Báhus, the 4th, 5th and 6th, and the other fact is also remembered that the *Rájávaliya* "is the compilation of more than one hand,"* it is not impossible to surmise how one Vijaya Báhu came to be confounded with another and how the Chinese captive of a much earlier date got mixed up with the predecessor of Parákrama Báhu VI.

But to return to Vijaya Báhu V., the Kadirána *sannasa*† is in all probability of his 9th year. "The only other known *tamba sannasa* of a Vijaya Báhu is the somewhat similar" Devundara Dévalé *sannasa* of "the year following the 10th" of Vijaya Báhu VI.‡ of which the present Kadirána *sannasa* "falls short" both "in finish and engraving."§ The Kadirána *sannasa* records "a second (or confirmatory) grant, on the terms of a previous grant, received from the Court of Kurunégala."

* *Rájávaliya*, Mudlr, Guṇasékara in his Preface.

† Muller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, No. 164; C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. V., No. 18 (1873), pp. 75—79.

‡ Kégalla Report, pp. 96, 97.

§ *Id.*

The Tiru-Kóvil Tamil inscription* “ of the 10th year of Déva Śrī Vijaya Báhu,” which records a grant of land to the Sivanána Sankakára Kóvil (now known as Tiru-Kóvil) in the Batticaloa district, is probably of Vijaya Báhu V.

A.B. 1877—A.D. 1394—Accession of Vijaya Báhu V.

A.B. 1886—A.D. 1403—Kadirána *sannusa* granted.

A.B. 1887—A.D. 1404—Tiru-Kóvil inscription.

A.B. 1888—A.D. 1405—Ching Ho, Chinese General, plundered by “ A-lea-ko-nae-wurh ” (Alagakkónára).†

A.B. 1890-1—A.D. 1407-8—Arrival of Ching Ho, with an army. Alagakkónára decoys the party into the interior. Vijaya Báhu the Vth is however captured with his queen, children, officers, &c., and deported to China.‡

BHUVANEKA BÁHU IV.

A.B. 1890—1894; A.D. 1407—1411; Śaka 1270—1274.

No. 162. As previously mentioned, the *Mahāvāṇsa*, the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava*, and the *Saddharmaratnākara* give 1894 A.B. as the 4th year of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.§ There is then good ground for assuming that Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. reigned no more than 4 years, or, rather, that he ceased actively to reign after his 4th year. But that he was nominally sovereign for 6 years more at least is evident from the Végiriya|| Déwálé Inscription¶ which records, among other grants, the following :

“ And in the 10th year of Bhuvaneka Báhu (IV), seven amunams, sowing extent, of Polwattekumbura of Kumbal-waluwé offered by His Highness Śrī Parākrama Báhu Épá, together with the villages, revenue.....”

* *Taprobanian*, Vol. I., p. 4.

† Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., pp. 416—7, 622—4, 628, and the Chinese authorities quoted; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II., pp. 246, 282.

‡ *Id.*

§ The *Rājaratnākara* makes 1896 A.B. his 4th year.

|| C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., pp. 294, 5.

¶ The *Sinduruwána Rāṭa Kada-im-Pota* mentions that, during the time of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., Végiriya Déwálé was built by Aludenīye Máyim Baṇḍára, who “ afterwards robed himself.”

It is significant that this Végiriya inscription, which records grants made in the 20th and 30th years respectively of Bhuvaneka Báhu V., in the 7th year of Vikrama Báhu III., and in the 10th year of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., omits the terms “රජ්ජරුවන්වහන්සේ” only in the case of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. He is simply styled භුවනෙකබාහු while his Épá is termed ශ්‍රී ජරාක්‍රමබාහු අභයානන්වහන්සේ.

However that may be, the question is here pertinent : If Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. was sovereign, even nominally, for 10 years at least—as we know he was from the Végiriya inscription,—why was his 4th year singled out, or, rather, what *extraordinary circumstance or event in his 4th year* justified or called forth the statement of the corresponding *Budda warsha* in so many chronicles?*. A clue to the probable answer may be found in Valentyn’s fuller and more reliable *Rājāvalīya*, according to which

“At that time (*i.e.* after the capture of Vijaya Báhu and the formal accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.), there reigned in Jaffnapatnam the King *Ariacsi Chaccaravarti Raja*, a Prince of great power and who had a far larger Army and more money than the Emperor of Candi. This man, seeing that *there was no Emperor in the low country*, resolved to get possession of the Emperorship of Ceylon. He therefore *marched into the country of the Cingalese*, gave out, in order to cover his design, that he had come only just to see the country, and thus immediately *took possession of it*.....At that time (also) there reigned in the high country of Candi the King *Boewanacca Báhu Raja*, who was also king in Degampala. This man was rich enough in men, but nevertheless had not the power to withstand the King of Jaffnapatnam, *wherefore he fled* with some of the people to the Town of Reygam to *Alagues Vira Mandrim* (Alakésvara Mantri.)”†

In all probability, therefore, it was in the 4th year after his formal accession that Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. took refuge

* *Vide the Mahāvaṃsa, Nikāya Saṅgrahawa, Saddharmaratnā-karaya, Rājaratnākaraya, &c.*

† Alakésvara must have been about 35 years old at this time, in which case he was a trifle over 50 when his aid was called in to bring together the Convocation of 1912 A.B. in the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. Mr. Bell says in C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 342, note 1:—“He is more likely to have been 45 or even more, when called upon to exercise so important a function as the holding of a General Convocation of Monks.”

in flight, and since he never exercised active sovereignty again—(though he lived for 6 years more at least during which he was nominally sovereign),—his 4th year was regarded as practically the close of his reign. Therefore the chronicler recorded: “ At his (Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.) 4th year there had passed 1894 years since the death of the Sage.”*

It is also probable that, some time after, seeing the active preparations initiated by Alakéṣvara to repel the threatened invasion by Arya Chakravarti, who had withdrawn for the time being after imposing “ a large tax on the inhabitants,”+ Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. mustered up sufficient courage to return to his kingdom, “ but the Cingaleese swore that they would never acknowledge such a coward as their king,”‡ and Bhuvaneka Báhu thenceforward disappears from history. He was alive till 1900 A.B.§ and, being the anointed sovereign of the land and *rex de jure* till he died, his Ēpá, Parákrama Báhu (afterwards Parákrama Báhu V.), who had assumed the government on Bhuvaneka Báhu's flight, was constrained to administer the country as *rex de facto* till that time, all grants, &c. (such as the one to Végiriya Déwále), being issued in the name of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.

It was during the time of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. that Meheṇavaravansa Sénalaṅkádihikára Senevirat “ constructed a great vihára of royal magnificence called Abhinava Laṅkátilaka, beauteous as the Kailása mountain, on the top of the Parṇaṣaila hill, in the city of Sinduruwána, his ancestral

* *Mahávaṇsa*, ch. 90, vv. 108, 109.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XVIII., p. 286.

‡ Valentyn.

§ Deduced from the Végiriya Déwále Inscription, for which see C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., pp. 294, 295.

|| “ Not all the water in the rough rude sea can wash the balm off from an anointed king.”

home;”* and “hearing of the prevalence of misconduct endangering religion among men of standing who had entered the priesthood, brought the fact to the notice of a council of priests of both sects under the leadership of the Supreme Théra Vanaratana of Amaragiri Vasa (Déwanágala) and armed with the royal authority made an Inquisition into the church, and for a time restored its purity.”†

The Laṅkātilaka inscription ‡—as also the Gadalādeniya one—is of the 3rd year of Bhuvaneka Báhu, who is stated therein to have ascended the throne in Śaka 1266. My Śaka date for Bhuvaneka Báhu’s accession, 1270, has been arrived at from the Śaka calculation in the Végiriya Déwale inscription, according to which 1957 A.B.=1337 Śaka, the difference being 620 years exactly. That difference has been maintained in my Śaka dates, but it involves a discrepancy of about two years throughout.§ My remarks on the Śaka era appear below. In the present case, however, if the difference between the *Buddha* and *Śaka warshas* may be taken as 625,—as in the Munisṣeram *sannasa*, according to which 2060 A.B.=1435 Śaka,—then the year of accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. would be 1890—625=1265—6, thus tallying with the date of the Laṅkātilaka inscription. The difference between the *Buddha* and *Śaka warshas* ranges usually from 620 to 623 years. The Munisṣeram *sannasa* is the only grant I know of wherein the difference between the two eras is represented at 625 years.

* The *Sinduruwāna Rāṭa Aduḍḍim-Pola* says:—“A Bandāra who had descended from Udunuwara Mahā Bisó was a priest. He disrobed and became Seneviratna, Adigar of the King of Gampola. Afterwards he became King Lankā Seneviratna and built Laṅkātilaka Mahā Vihāra with the temples of the four deities, 32 cubits high, and completed its work with seven golden pinnacles” (Laurie’s *Gazetteer*, Vol. II., p. 971). The term “city of Sinduruwana” is perhaps slightly inaccurate. Sinduruwana Rāṭa was an extensive district embracing Udunuwara, Yatinuwara, etc.

† *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, p. 24.

‡ C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. X., No. 34, pp. 83—95.

§ “As the writing on the rocks cannot lie, the best way to reconcile the inscription dates with that of the chronicles is to presume that Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. reigned first at Kurunégala, and moved his capital to Gampola. This is not unlikely” (Mr. Bell in C.B.R.A.S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 356, note.)

¶ See below.

The *Sinduruwāna Raṭa Kada-im-Pota* gives us an interesting item of information in regard to the coronation ceremony of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. It appears that at this ceremony King Bhuvaneka Báhu “wanted a high caste chief to deliver the crown to him and Alapalawela Abásin Baṇḍára (son of Adahasin of Deḷiwala, Alapalawela and Náranwala) was selected. After the ceremony, according to his request, he received help and aid to cultivate fields in Alapalawela and Mámpitiya, on the condition that the very first field asweddumized should be called Otunukáwa.”*

A.B. 1890—A.D. 1407—Formal accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.

A.B. 1893—A.D. 1410—Laṅkátilaka and Gaḍaládeniya Viháras completed.

—Inquisition into the Buddhist church.

A.B. 1894—A.D. 1411—Inroad by Arya Chakravarti.

—Flight of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., and the virtual end of his reign.

—The captives of 1407—8, A.D., released by the Chinese. *Scaypa-nae-na*, “the wisest of the family appointed vassal king; afterwards styled *Pu-lu-ko-ma Bazah La-cha*”† (Parákrama Báhu.)

PARÁKRAMA BÁHU V.

A.B. 1894—1905; A.D. 1411—1422; Śaka 1274—1285.

No. 163. The Végiriya Déwale inscription‡ and the Hapugastenna inscription§ make it certain that the period of Parákrama Báhu's government extended to 15 years, “counting his years both as Ēpá and King” ... This would

* Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II., p. 971.

† Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., pp. 416—7, 622—4, 628, and the Chinese authorities quoted. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II., pp. 246, 282.

‡ C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., pp. 294, 5.

§ *Id.*, pp. 295, 362.

|| That is, 10 years as Ēpá and 5 as King.

carry back his reign to the year Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. came to the throne.”* The *Rájávaliya* ignores Parákrama Báhu V. entirely as also his successor Vikrama Báhu III., while the *Mahávaṇsa*† dismisses both of them with the curt reference that, after the death of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., they reigned “in the self-same city Gangásiripura” (Gampola), which statement probably has been construed to mean that Parákrama Báhu V. and Vikrama Báhu III. exercised “concurrent rule” at Gampola.‡ Apart from the singularity of the circumstance of two kings ruling simultaneously in one city—I know of no precedent in Ceylon history for such a situation—there is no warrant for the conclusion, so far as I am aware, in any inscription, *sannasa* or chronicle. Neither does the statement in the *Mahávaṇsa* justify it, since the words: “After the death of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. there reigned two kings in that self-same city (Gangásiripura), namely, Parákrama Báhu (V.) and the wise Vikrama Báhu (III.)” are quite open to the construction that one succeeded the other at Gampola. The two are coupled together since the succeeding king, Bhuvaneka Báhu V., ruled in another capital, Kóṭṭé. As a matter of fact, the *Nikáya Sangrahawa*§ is positive that, “on the latter’s (Parákrama Báhu V.) death the Maháraja Vikrama Báhu succeeded to the throne in the same city.”

A.B. 1894—A.D. 1411—Parákrama Báhu, as Épá, assumes the administration of the government on the flight of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.

A.B. 1900—A.D. 1417—Grant to Végiriya Déwále in the 10th year of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.
—Death of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.
—Formal accession of Parákrama Báhu Épá as king.

A.B. 1905—A.D. 1422—Hapugastenna inscription
—Death of Parákrama Báhu V.

* C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXII., p. 294.

† Chap. 91, Verse 1.

‡ C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXII., p. 293.

§ pp. 24, 5.

|| It records the dedication of Kirallamotá to the Sacred Tooth Relic by Sival-Kolu Lakdhivu Adhikára.

VIKRAMA BÁHU III.

A.B. 1905—1915 ; A.D. 1422—1432 ; Śaka 1285—1295.

No. 164. Curtly noticed both by the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa* and altogether ignored by the *Rājāvaliya*. The Hapugastenna inscription tells us that the 15th year of Parākrama Báhu V. fell in 1281 Śaka expired, *i. e.*, 1282 Śaka, and the Vigulawatta (Gampola) inscription* says that the 4th year of Vikrama Báhu corresponded to 1282 Śaka expired, *i. e.*, 1283 Śaka, thus placing the latter's accession in 1279 Śaka, *i. e.*, while Parākrama Báhu was reigning. The most likely explanation of the difficulty is that, like Parākrama Báhu V. whose 15 years include 4 which he served as Ēpá while Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. was king, Vikrama Báhu himself served Parākrama Báhu V. as Ēpá from 1279 to 1282 Śaka and actually ascended the throne in 1283 Śaka; in which case the Vigulawatta inscription would be of his 1st year as real sovereign and of his 4th year as Ēpá.

It was in this reign that the building of New Jayawardhana, commenced about 15 years previously,† was completed and Arya Chakravarti humbled to the dust‡. After the temporary withdrawal of Arya Chakravarti following on his inroad “into the country of the Cingaleese§” in the reign of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., Alakésvara “betook himself with some people of the village of Reygamme, and formed a camp there in order to wage war against him.”||

* Kégalla Report, pp. 78, 79.

† Mr. E. W. Perera says that it took Alakésvara “nearly 20 years” to complete “his preparations,” *i. e.*, the fortification of Kótté and Rayigama, &c., for resisting Arya Chakravarti (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XVIII., p. 287.).

‡ In the paper on “Alakésvara: his life and times” (C.B.R.A.S. Journal, Vol. XVIII., pp. 287 et seq.), as well as in C.B.R.A.S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 373, the rout of Arya Chakravarti is described by Mr. E. W. Perera as having taken place in the reign of *Bhuvaneka Báhu V.* in direct contradiction to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, a contemporaneous work, which places the event in the reign of Vikrama Báhu III.

§ Valentyn.

|| *Id.*

Later, he “built near Reygamme a walled town, which he fully provided with men and provisions,”* and then directed his energies to the construction of the fortress of Jayawardhana Kótté, built “dams and moats for the storage of water, collected salt, coconut, and paddy sufficient to serve for several years,”† and provided this also “with the necessary men and provision of weapons of war.”‡

These extensive warlike preparations took him several years, probably about 15 years as I have said above, and at length he was ready to take the field. He forthwith commenced hostilities, and his first act of defiance was significant of the strength of his resolve: he hanged the tax-collectors of the said Arya Chakravarti, who were stationed in different places.”§ Arya Chakravarti, without much delay, summoned 100,000 men from Malabar to his assistance “and sent them forth with instructions to attack Gampola and Jayawardhana Kótté on one and the same day. The force which marched by land halted at Mátale; that which came by sea landed and reached Colombo from Pánadure and encamped at Gorakana in Demaṭagoḍa, holding the intervening country by a continuous line of defence.”|| What followed may be described in a few words. Vikrama Báhu’s hill-country warriors “fell like raging lions on the enemy in the country of Mátule (Mátale) and defeated the king of Jaffnapatnam so completely that the most of his men remained dead on the field,”¶ while Alakésvara, who directed operations in the low-country, “mounted his elephant, fell upon the people that still lay in Mattagodde (Demaṭagoḍa), defeated them likewise completely, captured them by thousands, destroyed their ships in the Bay of Colombo, then turned to Paneture and Gorkane, there also destroyed all their vessels, and slew many more of their remaining

* *Id.*

† *Rájávaliya*, p. 66.

‡ Valentyn.

§ *Rájávaliya*, p. 66.

|| *Id.* pp. 66-67.

¶ Valentyn.

men, so that he returned to Reygam with a complete victory,"* thus causing "his fame and glory to be spread in all ten directions."†

The Niyamgampāya Vihāra Inscription‡ is dated in Śaka 1295 which, according to the rule§ that the Christian era must be 139 years (61+78) ahead of the Śaka era, would work out to 1295 + 139 = 1434 A.D. This gives a discrepancy of 2 years which, as I have said above, is maintained throughout, since my Śaka dates for the various reigns are worked out from the Végiriya Déwāla inscription, according to which the difference between the *Buddha* and *Śaka warshas* is 620 years, not 621, 622 or 623 as is elsewhere found.

A.B. 1905—A.D. 1422—Formal accession of Vikrama Báhu III.

—Vigulawatta (Gampola) inscription.

A.B. 1908—A.D. 1425—Laṅkātilaka inscription: 3rd year of Vikrama Báhu.||

—Rout of Arya Chakravarti.

A.B. 1912—A.D. 1429—Convocation of Buddhist priests, under Dharmakirti the Elder, called together by the minister Alakésvara "to inquire into the state of religion and to disrobe a number of sintul priests."¶

—Grant to Végiriya Déwāla: 7th year of Vikrama Báhu.**

A.B. 1913—A.D. 1430—Gaḍalādeniya inscription (unpublished): 8th year of Vikrama Báhu III.††

A.B. 1915—A.D. 1432—Niyamgampāya Vihāra Inscription, in Śaka 1295.

—Death of Vikrama Báhu III.

* *Id.*

† *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, p. 26.

‡ C.B.R.A.S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., pp. 343, 4.

§ *Vide* my remarks on the Śaka Era.

|| Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II., p. 754. Is this the same as the "Gaḍalādeniya inscription: 3rd year of Vikrama Báhu III." referred to in the Kégalla Report (p. 92.) as an "unpublished rock inscription?"

¶ *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, p. 27.

** C.B.R.A.S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 295.

†† Kégalla Report, p. 92.

BHUVANEKA BÁHU V.

A. B. 1915—1945; A. D. 1432—1462; Śaka 1295—1325.

No. 165.—The question of the parentage of Bhuvaneka Báhu V. I defer discussing for a later paper, but that he was one of a family of several brothers is evident from the Palkumbura *sannasa*,* which says that “he had *one of his brothers* admitted to the order of priesthood called Bhuwanayka Báhu Terunnánse, who resided in the same city (Jayawardhana Kóṭṭé). After the king had attained heaven, this priest, accompanied by *several of his brothers*, set out from the city for the hill-country, and took up his abode in Uruléwatta in Uḍunuwara.”

A reign of 30 years at least for Bhuvaneka Báhu V. is definitely established by the Végiriya Déwála Inscription.† In his 20th year his cousin-german‡ “the Ēpá named Virabáhu (Vijaya Báhu) of the Mehenavara family came to the throne,” § *i. e.*, assumed the active administration of the government, Bhuvaneka Báhu V. remaining the sovereign *de jure* and grants being issued in his name.

A. B. 1915—A. D. 1432—Accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu V.||

A. B. 1917—A. D. 1434—The Yuva-Raja (Sub-King) Vijaya Báhu presents a sword to his General Kouravara Aditya Arasa Nilayitta Ile Nága.¶

A. B. 1919—A. D. 1436—Mámpé *Sannasa* (4th year) attested by *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*.**

A. B. 1922—A. D. 1439—Demaladúva *Sannasa* (7th year) attested by *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*.††

* Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II., pp. 687-8.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 294.

‡ Suhuru-badu, *Sk.* Svasurabandhu = the son of either mother's brother or father's sister.

§ *Nikáya Saṅgrahawa*, p. 27.

|| *Id.*

¶ *Vide* paper on “Two Old Sinhalese Swords,” by the late Mr.

C. M. Fernando in the C. B. R. A. S. Journal for 1905.

** C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 271.

†† *Id.*, p. 272, 3.

A.B. 1926—A.D. 1443—*Attanagaḷu-Vihāra-Vansa* translated into Sinhalese at the desire of Satru Siṅha Kunjara (Commander-in Chief), Arthanāyaka (Minister) and his brother Alakēśvara (Prime Minister) in Śaka 1304 (1304+139=1443 A.D.)

A.B. 1930—A.D. 1447—Harmony of Convocation of 1912 A.B. broken.*

A.B. 1935—A.D. 1452—Vīra Bāhu Ēpā (Vijaya Bāhu VI.) assumes the active administration of the government, Bhuvaneka Bāhu V. remaining the real king.†

—Grant by Bhuvaneka Bāhu V., in his 20th year, “of Demaḷabōruwe kumbura in the name of his mother” to Végiriya Déwāla.‡

A.B. 1939—A.D. 1456—Convocation of the priesthood of the two colleges under Dharma-kirti Mahā Swāmi the Younger, called together by Virabāhu, the ādipāda, “to inquire into and purify the religion.”§

A.B. 1941—A.D. 1458—Ganégoda *Sannisa* (26th year) attested by *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumāl*.||

—*Nikāya Saṅgrahawa* probably completed at this time.

A.B. 1943—A.D. 1460—*Visuddhi Magga* completed “under the direction of Sembahap Perumāl Arachchi of Kitulgoda, in the 28th year of Śrī Bhuvaneka Bāhu.”¶

A.B. 1944—A.D. 1461—Godagama *Sannasa*, 29th year of Bhuvaneka Bāhu.**

A.B. 1945—A.D. 1462—Grant to Végiriya Déwāla in the 30th year of Bhuvaneka Bāhu.††
—Death of Bhuvaneka Bāhu V.

*The *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa* (p. 27) says :—“The harmony of the church then (in 1912 A. B.) established, prevailed unbroken up to the 15th year of Bhuvaneka Bāhu V. Up to this 15th year there had elapsed 1929 years from the death of our Buddha.”—If, therefore, “up to this 15th year,” i. e., in the 14th year completed, it was 1929 A. B., the 15th year would obviously be 1930 A. B., in which year, to be exact, the harmony was broken.

† *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, p. 27.

‡ C.B.R.A.S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 294.

§ *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, p. 29.

|| Kégalla Report, p. 93.

¶ C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 271.

** Kégalla Report, p. 91.

†† C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 294.

VIJAYA BÁHU VI.

A. B. 1945—1958; A. D. 1462—1475; Śaka 1325—1338.

No. 166. This is the king whom the *Rājāvaliya* confounds with the Vijaya Báhu (V.) of the Chinese captivity, and who has recently been considered never to have lived at all! The question whether he was or was not the father of Parákrama Báhu VI., his successor, is one which it is impossible adequately to discuss in the present paper.

A.B. 1945—A.D. 1462—Formal accession of Vijaya Báhu VI.

A.B. 1951—A.D. 1468—Kudágama inscription, 6th year.*

A.B. 1956—A.D. 1473—Kéragala inscription, 11th year.†

A.B. 1956—A.D. 1473—Devundara Déwála *Sannasa*, 11th year, attested by *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*.‡

A.B. 1958—A.D. 1475—Kappágoda inscription, 13th year, § and death of Vijaya Báhu VI.

PARÁKRAMA BÁHU VI.

A. B. 1958—2010; A. D. 1475—1527; Śaka 1338—1390.

No. 167. The above *Buddha warsha* dates (the correctness of which is ratified by the *Kāvyaśekhara* and *Pepiliyána* and *Saman Déwála* inscriptions),—worked out as I have all along done on the hypothesis that Buddha died in 483 B.C.,—yield 1475-1527 A.D. as the regnal years of Parákrama Báhu VI., which would make the arrival of the Portuguese fall in his reign. Is this borne out by facts?

In the first place, then, I shall endeavour to prove that the first arrival of the Portuguese did, as a matter of fact, take place in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI., and that, of some of the “kings” whom we have hitherto regarded as independent sovereigns in succession to him, a few were in

* Kégaalla Report, p. 87.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 352.

‡ Kégaalla Report, pp. 96-97.

§ *Id.*, p. 86.

reality no more than sub-kings under him at the time, and that the rest *never lived at all*. And I should like it remembered that every argument in proof of this contention is an argument for accepting the accuracy of my chronology and for rejecting, almost entirely, the statements hitherto made, in histories and other publications dating from the Portuguese times some 400 years back, in regard to the reigns and individualities of the seven “sovereigns” whom we have been accustomed all these days to call respectively Jaya Báhu II., Bhuvaneka Báhu VI., Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu VII., Vira Parākrama Báhu VIII., Dharma Parākrama Báhu IX., Vijaya Báhu VII. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. In other words, I hope to present Jaya Báhu II. in a light different from that in which modern writers have presented him, to show that Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. were one and the same person as were Parākrama Báhu VI. and Dharma Parākrama Báhu IX., and to prove that Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu VII., Vira Parākrama Báhu VIII., and Vijaya Báhu VII. never lived at all!

Firstly, let us see what Portuguese writers and others have to say of the Sinhalese sovereign and his Court at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese.

Duarte Barbósa, in his *Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar*, gives, as Mr. Donald Ferguson says, the earliest description of Ceylon written after the “discovery” of the Island by the Portuguese. In this work, (which was finished in 1516), Barbósa states*:

“The King of Ceylan is always in a place called Columbo In this island of Ceylan there are four or five other harbours and places of trade which are governed by other lords, nephews of the King of Ceylan, to whom they pay obedience, except that sometimes they revolt.”

Ludovico di Varthema,† who visited Ceylon in 1505, says :

* *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. IV., p. 212; C.B.R.A.S. Journal, Vol. XIX., p. 379.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XIX., p. 330.

"In this Island of Zailon are *four kings*, all pagans. I do not describe to you all the kings of the said Island, because these kings being in fierce war with each other, we could not remain there long, neither could we see or hear the things thereof; however, *having remained there some few days*, we saw that which you shall hear."

Varthema, having "remained" in Ceylon "some few days," speaks from personal knowledge and his testimony is therefore very valuable.

Castanheda says almost the same thing :*

"Among the ports of this island there are seven that are the principal, and they are large cities, principally Columbo which is on the south coast, viz : Panatore,† Verauali,‡ Licamaon,§ Gabaliquamma,|| and Torrauair.¶ And on the north coast there is another which is called Maningoubou** And these other cities beside that of Columbo are governed by certain rulers who call themselves kings : and so they exercise dominion according to their custom : all however pay vassalage and obedience to the principal king who is in Columbo and recognise him as their seignior."

We also find in Castanheda :††

"Dom Lourenco made landfall at the port of Gabaliquamma, which our people now call *the port of Gale* : and his arrival becoming known to *the lord of the country*, the latter" after an interview "agreed to friendship and a treaty" and to "give every year as tribute to the king of Portugal 150 quintals of cinnamon All these matters having been concluded, Dom Lourenco turned about for Cochim and on his arrival at Cochim he gave the viceroy an account of what had befallen him, and of what had been agreed to with *the lord of Gale, whom he thought to be the proper king of Ceilao*."

Barros' references to this "lord of the country" are equally illuminating. He says : ‡‡

"For this man with whom he spoke, although from the bearing of his person and the reverence paid to him by his people he seemed to be what they said, was *not the King of Ceylam*, but *the lord of the port of Galle*."

* *Historia*, lib. II, cap. XXII., C. L. R. Vol. IV., pp. 189-190.

† Pánadure.

‡ Béruwala.

§ Alutgama.

|| Galle (Weligama).

¶ Dondra.

** Negombo.

†† *Historia*, lib. II. cap. LXXIII.; C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XIX, p. 347.

‡‡ Barros, Dec. I., Bk. X., Chap. V.

Barros again says later : *

“The King Dom Manuel, because he had much information regarding the fertility of this Island, and knew that from it came all the cinnamon of those parts, and that *the lord of Galle*, by the manner in which he comported himself towards Dom Lourenco (as we have related above), wished to pay him tribute in order to retain his friendship; and that afterwards, through the medium of Afonso Dalboquerque, *the king of Columbo*, who was the real lord of the cinnamon, wished to obtain that peace and friendship, wrote to the same Afonso Dalboquerque that he was to go in person to this island, if it seemed well to him, to build in this port of Columbo a fortress, in order thereby to make sure of the offers of the king.”

King Manuel's letter† of September 25, 1507, to Pope Julius has the following: “Applicans itaque ad portam maximi et potentissimi regis, *qui sex alios imperat*, insulae regibus mittit patris legatos, quos secum ferebat.”

Osorius speaks of the Island being divided into *seven kingdoms*, while

Ribeiro says:‡ “They say that this Island had *seven kingdoms* The chief king and kingdom were those of Cotta; *this king the rest revered* with the respect paid to an Emperor.”

Correa tells§ us that “the island is ruled by *four kings*, but *this one (at Columbo)* is the principal, because only in his kingdom does the cinnamon grow.”

According to the *Rájávaliya*,|| the king “summoned his *four brothers* to the city” on learning of the arrival of the Portuguese.

Now, it seems clear that, when the Portuguese arrived in this island, the supreme ruler was an Emperor at Cotta under whom there were at least four sub-kings, his brothers or nephews. What was the name of this Emperor? The *Rájávaliya*¶ alone of Sinhalese chronicles says it was *Dharma*

* Dec. III., Bk II., Chap. II.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XIX., p. 340.

‡ *Ceilão* (Mr. Paul Pieris' translation), Chap. II, pp. 2, 3.

§ I., 643-646; C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XIX., p. 355.

|| Ordinary version, p. 73.

¶ *Id.*

Parákrama Báhu, though a few lines above this it speaks simply of a *Parákrama Báhu*. De Queiroz, who, from the glimpses given of him in Mr. Paul E. Pieris' recent valuable work, *The Portuguese Era*, seems certainly to have been better informed than most other Portuguese writers relative to this period, says* that *Parákrama Báhu* was the king at the time, not *Dharma Parákrama Báhu*, and the *Yálpána-Vaipáva Malai*† says the same:

“They (the *Parangkis*) first came to *Lanka* in the year *Parithapi* corresponding with the *Saka* year 1428, in the reign of King *Parák-kirama-Vaku* (*Parákrama Báhu*) of *Kóttá*, and having obtained his permission they commenced to trade in his territories.

“The *Parangkis* commenced to visit Ceylon in the reign of King *Parák-kirama-Vaku* of *Kóttá*, who in the *Saka* year 1428 gave them permission to trade with his subjects.”

But Valentyn, who, as Mr. Donald Ferguson observes, seems to have obtained possession of a Portuguese translation of the *Rájávaliya* differing in many details from the versions now extant in Ceylon, pours a flood of light on the point. He says:‡

“As soon as the Emperor *Darma Praccaram Báhu* heard thereof, he ordered (so this history says) the 4 *Kings*, his brothers, to be summoned to him, and took counsel with them as to whether these strangers should be allowed to enter that country, whereupon the king of *Oodogampola* said that he would like first to go and see these people himself. This he did, thought very well of them, and advised the Emperor to make a treaty with them. Thereupon the Portuguese went with presents to *Cotta*, where they were very well received by that prince, who made a treaty with them to their entire satisfaction, after which they departed from there.”

To this Valentyn appends the illuminating remark:

“So the *Cingaleeze* relate of this Emperor, but, as we record below in connection with the arrival of the Portuguese, it took place in the time of the preceding Emperor.”

The reference is to page 91 where Valentyn gives the Portuguese version of the visit of Dom Lourenco de

* *The Portuguese Era*, p. 438, note 19.

† Brito's translation, pp. 33, 48.

‡ *Ceylon*, 75.

Almeida, and adds that the Emperor then reigning was, according to his list, "*Rucculey Praccaram Bahu Raja*," (Rukula Parákrama Báhu Raja), in whose 52nd year, he says on page 74, the event took place. The names of the Emperor's 4 brothers Valentyn gives as (a) Taniam Vallaba, king of Candoepiti Mádampe, (b) Sri Rája Singa, king of Manicaravare, (c) the King of Reygamme, and (d) Saccalacala Valaba Raja, king of Oedoegampola.

Now, we know from the Saman Déwála (Saparagamuwa) *sannasa* that Rukula Parákrama Báhu, *who is no other than Parákrama Báhu VI.*, ascended the throne in 1958 A.B.* He reigned 52 years† and his period would, therefore, be 1958-2010 A.B., which, according to my calculation, gives 1475-1527 A.D., and, according to the hitherto accepted chronology, 1415-1467 A.D. The latter is an impossible period for the arrival of the Portuguese. *My calculation is therefore correct*, which means that, *up to the time of Parákrama Báhu VI., that is, the close of the 15th century, the date for Buddha's death accepted in Ceylon was 483 B.C., not 544 or 543 B.C.*

There is, however, still further and very weighty support for my chronology and all that it implies:

The Emperor of Kótté at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese was *an old man*. and Parákrama Báhu VI. would naturally be that, considering that that event took place in the 31st year of his reign. Even if he was only 16 years old—he was certainly much older—when he ascended the

* *Vide* also the *Kávyasékharaya* and the *Pepiliyána* inscription which corroborate.

† This is the generally accepted extent of his reign though Vidágama, in the colophon to his *Kárya Lakshana Manimálá*, says:—

මෙලක එකසත් කළ
සිරි පැරකුම නිදළ හට
පඤ්ඤිච්ච පසු කෙලෙමේ
කිවි ලකුණු මිණිවල් ගම්

"This Kivi Lakunu Minimal was composed in the 54th year. of King Siri Parákrama Báhu, who brought this Laṅkā under one canopy of dominion (umbrella)."

throne, his age would be nearly 50 when the Portuguese arrived. Now, in 2001 A.B. (1518 A.D.), that is, in the 43rd year of his reign and about the 59th year of his age,* there came the governor Lopo Soarez de Albergaria “in respect of the erection of a Fort in Columbo.”† On the Governor’s landing “he was carried in a costly chair.....to where the king awaited him a short distance from the shore, *his white beard of great length.....making him conspicuous above all.....*The King apologising for not going to the galley to meet him and excusing himself *on the ground of his age.*”‡ In the course of conversation the King, using the *privilege of old age*, says: “Know, senhor, that *when I was young* one man killed another in the city of Sítawaka.....”§ This description of old age can fit only Parákrama Báhu VI. Dharma Parákrama Báhu, presuming that he reigned, must have been comparatively a young man.

But more important still, and, to my mind, conclusive on the point is the inference to be drawn from the *sannasa* issued by the Emperor of Kótté shortly after the negotiations, just referred to above, between himself and Lopo Soarez de Albergaria in connection with the erection of a fort in Colombo. The following is the translation of the *sannasa* given by Mr. Paul Pieris :||

“Rightful Lord of the Earth, the Fortunate One, Descended from the Kings of Anu Rája Pura, greater than all those of the Earth, sprung from *Deos* in this Island of Ceilao. Rightful Lord of the Empire of Cotta and of the Kingdoms of Jaffana Patao and Candea, a God of War in subduing rebels, who are as women and not men, Rightful Heir of the Kings of Dambaden, and of the Great Peak of Adam, Preserver of the Law of Buddha, Executioner of the traitor kings of the Arya Wansa, descended from the Son of the Sun like a Star in the Firmament, True Master of all the Sciences, Lawful Descendant of Wijaya Bau,

* That is, on the presumption that he was 16 at his accession.

† Mr. Pieris’ *The Portuguese Era*, Vol. I., p. 46.

‡ *Id.*, pp. 48, 49.

§ *Id.*, p. 50.

|| *Id.*, p. 53.

"I, the Emperor *Parácrame Bau*, in the capital of my Empire, *this the 40th year named Segara*, am content and am well pleased to give to the Kings of Portugal each year as tribute 400 bares of cinnamon, and 20 rings set with the rubies which are found in this Island of Ceilao, and ten elephants with tusks, on the sole condition that the present Governor and the Viceroy and Governors who succeed Lopo Soarez de Albergaria in the State of India shall be bound to help and assist me against my enemies, as I am a vassal of the Crown of Portugal."*

Now, Mr. Pieris correctly explains in a note:† "The 43rd year of the cycle is the Saummya year. Saummya is synonymous with Chandra, the Moon, which is the Adhipati of this year. Sekere is a synonym for Chandra," but incorrectly adds that "the date of the grant is not the 40th or 43rd year."

I differ. The date of the grant is *undoubtedly the 43rd year of the Emperor's reign*, for, as Mr. Pieris shows from Portuguese chronicles, it was issued in 1518 A.D., and 1518 A.D. is exactly the 43rd year of *Parákrama Báhu's* reign, as, according to my chronology, he ascended the throne in 1475 A.D. and ruled till 1527 A.D.‡

This is *confirmatory evidence of the utmost importance and significance*, for it not only means that once again my theory (that the tradition current in Ceylon at this time, *i.e.*, the close of the 15th century, was that the Buddha died in 483 B.C.) is conclusively borne out, but also that the notions current to-day regarding the seven "successors"

* There can be no question of the genuineness of the *Sannasa*. Mr. Pieris says (p. 457, note 18):—"That he (Queiroz) had to deal with a genuine *Sannasa* seems manifest on comparing his version with such of the Sinhalese equivalents as I can trace"... One copy of this *Sannasa* "engraved on plates of gold according to the custom of the country was left with the King," while the copy of the Portuguese "was written on parchment." (Ribeiro's *Ceilao*, p. 15, and C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XX., De Barros, Dec. III., Bk. II., ch. II., p. 44.)

† *The Portuguese Era*, Vol. I., p. 458.

‡ Dharma Parákrama Báhu, who is popularly supposed to have been king at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, never reigned more than 22 years (*Rájáraliya*, p. 74). A grant issued in the 43rd year of the reign cannot, therefore, obviously be ascribed to him.

of Parākrama Báhu VI., from Jaya Báhu II. to Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., are all wrong. For Mexia's letter of December 30, 1528,* makes it certain that Bhuvaneka Báhu (Máya-dunne's brother) had ascended the throne in or before 1528 A.D., and there is no question that this same king died in 1551. Where then do Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu VII., Vira Parākrama Báhu VIII., Dharma Parākrama Báhu IX., and Vijaya Báhu VII. come in? The fact is that they never succeeded Parākrama Báhu VI. at all and two of them at least never existed.

For, firstly, who was Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu VII.? We are told† that he was the "son of Jayawíra Parākrama Báhu (Jaya Báhu II.)" whom Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. "had adopted." But this is manifestly impossible. For, Śrī Ráhula tells us in his *Seḷalihini Sandésaya* that his invocation to the god-king Vibhisana at Kēlaniya for the blessing of a son for the Princess Ulakudá Dévi was heard, his prayer granted, in the 36th year of Parākrama Báhu's reign :

ස ත ස් එන නවයැ පුර අස්මිස නැක	න
ප හ ස් ලැබ පුපුන් සිඳි තුබුතුරු පෙනෙ	න
ස හ ස් කර තුලට වැඩවන ලෙස සිත	න
වෙසෙස් රජතුමර විලසින් දැකුම්	න‡

Now, according to the hitherto accepted chronology, King Parākrama Báhu VI. reigned from 1410 to 1462 A.D.§ His 36th year would be 1446 A.D., on which date therefore Jayawíra Parākrama Báhu was born. But we are told that Jayawíra succeeded his grandfather in 1462 A.D., i.e., in the 16th year of his age, and died after a reign of two years, i.e., in the 18th year of his age. Now, to put it mildly, is it likely that a lad, still in his teens, left a son not only old enough to govern a troubled country, but also old enough

* Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I., p. 384.

† Kégalla Report, p. 5.

‡ "In the 36th year (of King Parākrama Báhu), in the 9th month of the bright moon, when the full moon was seen in the heaven in conjunction with the star (asterism) Aslisa, was born the royal babe wondrously fair, to be a constant source of prosperity to the Solar race." (*Seḷalihini Sandésa*, verse 109.)

§ Kégalla Report, p. 5.

within 7 years of his father's death, (and therefore in his 9th year, if his father married in 1461 at the age of 15) to contract more than one marriage and to have three children of his own ?

For, the *Rājāvaliya* (which is *the only chronicle* to give details of the events of this period and which forms the basis of *all* later works dealing with that period), says* that “ the king of Ambuḷugala, hearing of the demise of King Bhuvaneka Báhu ” in 1471, raised an army in the Four Kóralés, fought a battle at Inkendágama from which he emerged successful, “ entered Kóṭṭé and massacred the king (Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu), his queens and 3 children.” To raise an army in one particular district was usually a matter of a few weeks, certainly no more than a few months; the battle could not have lasted more than a day, perhaps only some hours, and the entry into Kóṭṭé was made immediately or soon after; all three, the raising of the army, the battle and the entry, could not have taken a year.† so that Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu's reign was of no more than a few months duration. If, therefore, the King of Ambuḷugala entered Kóṭṭé in 1471-72, Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu was only 9 or 10 years old at the time, but nevertheless had more than one queen-consort “ and three children,” which is absurd !!

Clearly, then, Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu VII. never lived and Jaya Báhu II., his reputed father, never married. If, therefore, we eliminate Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu VII., the reigns of Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII., Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX., Vijaya Báhu VII. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. become impossible.‡ What is the explanation ?

* *Rājāvaliya*, p. 70.

† Certainly not 14 years, as the Kégalla Report makes out on page 5.

‡ Says Mr. Bell (Kégalla Report, p. 85, note 5):—“ The *Rājāvaliya* compiler's *penchant* for ‘score’ reigns is sufficient to throw doubt on his chronology of the period. Thus, Vira Parákrama Báhu, 20 years; Dharma Parákrama Báhu, 20; Vijaya Báhu, 15; Bhuvaneka Báhu, 20.”—Mr. Bell also says:—(and it is significant of the confusion regarding this period). “ Turnour, apparently

The key to the puzzle lies in Valentyn's statement above, —confirmed by facts I have already placed in their proper light—that the Portuguese arrived in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI. (“Rucculey Praccaram Báhu Raja”). With this clue to guide me through the “confusion worse confounded” of the *Rájávaliya* narrative of this period, I shall endeavour to present, as succinctly as possible, what I might call a tentative “revised edition” of the “Age of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI.”

Whatever may be said relative to the parentage of Parákrama Báhu VI.—(and with that I propose to deal exhaustively in a later paper)—the facts now before us with the new light thrown upon them warrant our assuming the following:

Parákrama Báhu VI. was suzerain over at least six others* and these six sub-kings exercised jurisdiction as follows:—Taniveḷla Báhu ruled at “Candoepiti Mádampe;” Śrī Rája Siṅha at Menikkaḍawara; Rayigam Baṇḍára at Rayigama; Sakalakalá Vallaba at Udugampola, and (Máýádunne) Parákrama Báhu at Máýádunu Nuwara, while Vijaya Báhu was the “lord of the port of Galle.” Of these sub-kings two at least were Parákrama Báhu's brothers; (1) the *Yuva-raja* at Máýádunu Nuwara†, who is described as පැරකුමබා

following the *Rájávaliya*, ranges Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. as the immediate successor of his father, Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII., and Vijaya Báhu VII., of the former, his elder brother, making the reigns of the two latter stretch from 1505 to 1527 A.D., and 1527 to 1534 A.D. respectively. The *Mahávaṇsa* and *Rájaratnākara* do not allude to Dharma Parákrama Báhu, but record that Vijaya Báhu followed Vira Parákrama Báhu on the throne.” (Kégalla Report, p. 85.)

* *Maximus et potentissimus rex “qui sex alios imperat.”* (Letter dated Sept. 25, 1507, from King Emmanuel of Portugal to Pope Julius II.—*Vide* C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XIX., p. 340).

† මහසාදුණු නුවර රජු යුවරජ. *Paravi Sandésa*, verse 197.

නරතිදු සදුව සොහොවුරු,* and (2) Vijaya Báhu.† The rest were probably “nephews of the king” as Barbósa describes them.‡ Parákrama Báhu VI. had also a sister, of whom however more anon.

These, then, were the “Emperor” and his “brothers” and “nephews” whom the chronicles mentioned above refer to in connection with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1506. Shortly before his accession Parákrama Báhu VI. had lived with his brother Vijaya Báhu as associated husbands of a Kíravēli princess “a daughter of a chief called Quiravella Mahabissó Adassyn,”§ and the issue of this joint bed were three sons: “The eldest died when young; Bhuvaneka Báhu (or Sapumal Kumárayá), the 2nd son, ultimately succeeded to the throne; the third became Governor of Rayigama.”¶ After Parákrama Báhu's accession, Vijaya Báhu continued to live with the Kíravēli princess by whom he had (1) a daughter (who later married a Malabar Prince by whom she had Vidiye Kumárayá and Tammita Baṇḍára), and (2) about 1495, or possibly a trifle later, a son, Máyá-dunne (Ambuḷugala Kudá Kumárayá) who “was destined to restore the ancient Sinhalese kingdom.”¶¶

Not long after his accession Parákrama Báhu VI., anxious to preserve the Crown *in his own true line*, “married a princess from the Royal house from the village of Quirivella (Kíravēlla) who was of the family of the Othurudda

* *Id.*, verse 196.

† Note what Correa says:—“...A brother of the King who ruled in another part of the Island (Galle), they both having several times had quarrels, and he being greatly annoyed when he knew of this agreement with the king, arranged with the Moors that they should upset the mind of the king.” (*C. L. R.*, Vol. III, p. 181.)

Correa also says:—“The king being thus incited called together his peopleand his brother sent him a large number of men, with the design that if the governor destroyed his brother, he would conclude with him all the peace, and give him all the cinnamon and elephants and whatever else he wished, on condition that he made him king of Ceylon.” (*C. L. R.*, Vol. III., p. 197.)

‡ *C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XIX., p. 379.

§ Valentyn.

¶ Kégalla Report, p. 5.

¶¶ *Id.*

Comára"* (Anuruddha Kumára) by whom he had a daughter Ulakudá Dévi, and "took as his adopted sons *two princes of Imperial blood*† ... to whom he showed very great favour."‡ In all probability these are the "two sons" of the King whom Correa refers to in the following:

"News of this occurrence (the Portuguese victory over the Moors) having been conveyed to the King, he commanded great festivities to be held, and forthwith *sent his two sons on an elephant*, with many of his followers and the chiefs to accord high praises to our people."§

The "occurrence" was duly commemorated by an inscription on stone and we are indebted to De Queiroz for the text of the inscription which is as follows:

"At this spot forty Portuguese obtained a victory over three thousand enemies who had been summoned from the Island by the Moors and who were scattered in flight and killed. To God should be given thanks for this victory which it would be improper to boast of by attributing it to human strength. 20th June, 1518."||

In the course of time Parákrama Báhu VI. "appointed Sénánáyaka Sapumal Kumárayá his Minister, and the *young Prince who was at Ambulugala* his Minister as well,"¶ Rayigam Baṇḍára having in the meanwhile succeeded his uncle. Then came the invasion by the Canarese which was successfully repelled, an expedition fitted out "against the country of Chóla in India and Rámápatuna, where

නි බ ද යුද සො	බ
දෙ ම ල බලසෙන් බලමැ	බ
දඹ දිව තල නිස	බ
කෙලේ සිරි ලක්දිවට දියවැ	බ**

* Valentyn, also *Rájávaliya*, p. 68.

† Sapumal Kumárayá and Rayigam Baṇḍára.

‡ Valentyn.

§ C. L. R., Vol. III., p. 166. The "King" could not be "Dharma Parákrama Báhu," since the *Rájávaliya*, which is the only Sinhalese chronicle to mention his name and which gives a fairly detailed account of the events of his reign, does not say that he was ever married, much less that he had "two sons."

|| Mr. Pieris' *The Portuguese Era*, p. 459, note 31.

¶ *Rájávaliya*, p. 68.

** "He subdued the might of the Tamil host, ever lusting for battle: on the plains of India he raised on high the sound of victory, and on fair Lanšká conferred the benefits of that victory." (*Girá-Sandésá*, verse 127.)

This was followed by the invasion of the hill-country (Kanda Uḍa Raṭa), the deposition of King “ Jōtiya Situ ” and the handing over of his kingdom to “ the royal prince of the Solar race, descendant of the Gampola dynasty,”* the Jayavīra of the *Rājāvaliya* and the Vīra Vikrama of the *Mahāvamsa*. Two or three years before this last event, however, in 1505 or 1506, came the Portuguese, and the event caused a stir in the Kótté Court. King Parákrama Báhu summoned a meeting of his Ministers, at which his “ brothers ” and “ nephews ” were present, “ and took counsel with them as to whether these strangers should be allowed to enter that country, whereupon the king of Oedoegampala said that he would like first to go and see these people himself. This he did, thought very well of them, and advised the Emperor to make a treaty with them. Thereupon the Portuguese went with presents to Kótté, where they were very well received by that prince, who made a treaty with them to their entire satisfaction, after which they departed.”†

A few years elapsed and in 1511, in the 36th year of King Parákrama Báhu's reign, Ulakudá Dévi, his daughter, gave birth to a son. The King's long-cherished wish to obtain a grandson of “ *his own true line* ” to succeed him was thus fulfilled, and “ this boy, Déwarāja Kumárayá, (or, as he should rightly be called, Jayawira Parákrama Báhu or Jaya Báhu) he nominated for the throne, with the object of disinheriting the three princes, the issue of the joint bed.”‡ Within a short time “ the rivalry between his warlike and ambitious foster sons and his grandson created an element of civil strife in the State,”§ or as De Couto puts it,

* *Rājāvaliya*, p. 69.

† Valentyn.

‡ Kégalla Report, p. 5.

§ C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXII., No. 6, p. 21.

“ These three lads grew up, and came to have such power in the kingdom, that the king noticed in them a change of disposition; from which he feared that on his death they would murder his grandson. And dissembling in regard to this, he resolved to separate them, which he did, commanding the two brothers to go and subject for him the kingdom of Jafanapatao, which had rebelled against him, conferring on the elder one, who was called Queba Permal (Sapumal Kumárayá), the title of king of that dominion with the obligation of vassalage.”*

The Kingdom was thus divided, Jaffna being given to Sapumal Kumárayá (Bhuvaneka Báhu); Rayigam Baṇḍára, who had succeeded his uncle (the king's brother), being confirmed in his succession to the governorship of that province, while Kudá Kumárayá (Máýádunne) “ was given the principality of the Four Kóralés, to which was perhaps added the Three Kóralés and Sabaragamuwa.”† This disposition having been made, the little Jayawíra Parákrama Báhu was sworn in as heir to the throne and prince-regent (Yuva-raja).

A few years later, that is, “ *after* the partition of these kingdoms had taken place, there arrived at this island the governor Lopo Soares in the year of our Lord 1517 (1518), and built the fortress of Columbo, that king of Cota (Parákrama Báhu VI.) having the vassalage renewed, with the obligation of 300 bares of cinnamon, and 12 rings of rubies and sapphires, and 6 elephants for the service of the dock-yard at Cochim.”‡

Lopo Soares interviewed the king and the negotiations ended satisfactorily. The king granted a *sannasa* (referred to above) in the 43rd year of his reign (corresponding exactly to 1518 A.D.), and the construction of the fortress was rapidly pushed through. King Parákrama Báhu linger-

* De Couto, Dec. V., Bk. I., Chap. V.

† Kégalla Report, p. 5.

‡ De Couto, Dec. V., Bk. I., Chap. V. De Couto is right, then, that Lopo Soares's arrival in the Island took place “ *after* the partition of these kingdoms had taken place,” though Mr. Donald Ferguson would date the event “ sixteen years *before* the partition spoken of.” The correct year is not 1517, but 1518 as stated by Barros (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XX., No. 60, p. 39.)

ed for some years more, but his mental faculties becoming more and more enfeebled and impaired with age, it was considered expedient in the closing years of his reign to appoint a Regent, especially as Jayawíra Parákrama Báhu, the heir-apparent, was still a mere lad. The Regency was offered to Sakalakalá Vallaba who, however, declined it; but, at his suggestion, overtures were made to Vijaya Báhu who accepted the responsibility. Parákrama Bahu VI. died shortly after, in 1527, and was succeeded nominally by his grandson, but in reality by Vijaya Báhu who continued to act as Regent. The mother of the three princes, Sapumal Kumárayá, Rayigam Baṇḍára and Máyáduṇṇe, had died in the meanwhile,* and Vijaya Báhu married his deceased wife's sister,† “who, upon her nuptials, had the title of Déva Rája Singa Comári. This new empress, jealous of the regard which her husband evinced for his first family, conspired with two of the principal courtiers‡ to remove them out of the way,”§ and so brought on the events which led up to the *Vijaya Bá Kolleya* and culminated in the accession of Sapumal Kumárayá as Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.

Such in brief are, as I conceive them, the salient features of Parákrama Báhu's reign. I do not by any means say that the above sketch is wholly correct or that it cannot be materially improved. Errors there possibly are, especially in the matter of detail, but in its broad lines I do venture to think it represents the truth fairly. In order not to burden this paper unduly I have “held over” what may be described as a “reconstruction,” in the light of my theory, of the confused *Rájávaliya* narrative of this period.

If then my dates A.B. 1958-2010=A.D. 1475-1527 for Parákrama Báhu's reign are correct, and the admission involves also the correctness of my theory that the arrival

* Philalethes (quoting from Valentyn), p. 46.

† *Rájávaliya*, p. 71.

‡ Kandure Baṇḍára and Ékanáyaka Mudaliyá. (*Rájávaliya*, p. 75.)

§ Philalethes, p. 46.

of the Portuguese took place in his reign, it seems clear that Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu VII., Vira Parākrama Báhu VIII., Dharma Parākrama Báhu IX., Vijaya Báhu VII., and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. never reigned and their names must be wiped off the slate of Sinhalese kings. But what about Jayawíra Parākrama Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.? They certainly ruled, the first for a few months or at most a year, the other for 23 years, *i.e.*, till 1551, which means that Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. are one and the same person.

Firstly, then, of Jaya Báhu or Jayawíra Parākrama Báhu. It seems clear that he succeeded his grand-father in 2010 A.B.=1527 A.D., that is, in the 18th year of his age, but within a few months "lost his kingdom and his life at the hands of Sapumal Kumárayá."*

Sapumal Kumárayá then ascended the throne under the name of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. That he was the son of Parākrama Báhu VI. there can be no manner of doubt. Apart from Valentyn who, following a more reliable *Rájá-valiya* than the one now extant, calls him and his brother (Máyádunne) "*princes of Imperial blood*," we have the valuable testimony of the *Kókila Sandésa*, a congratulatory ode addressed to සපුමල් රජකුමරවුට (the royal prince Sapumal) at the period of his conquest of Jaffna by the incumbent priest of Tilaka Pirivena at Dondra :

* Kégalla Report, p. 5. De Couto has a curious passage : "Manica Pandar, taking her *half witted nephew* (sister's son, probably) in her arms, had him sworn as king and herself as tutor and governess of the kingdom. After this lady had governed the kingdom for 2 years (?) seeing that a male sovereign was necessary, because there had already been several disturbances, and the nephew was incapable of reigning, she sent in great haste to summon Québa Permal (Sapumal Kumárayá), king of Jafanapatao, in order to hand over the kingdom to him." (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XX., pp. 69-70.)

උන් ආරිය සක්විති රජ දහුදුර	ට
දුන් වැජඹෙන යාපාවන නිරකො	ට
නන් සිරිසුත් සපුරල් රජ කුමරිදු	ට
දෙත් මෙහසුන් ගෙනගොස් මම්බුරෙසතු	ට*

There is also a significant passage in an old (16th century) ola manuscript† recording the history of the family of one Pedru de Silva. The passage is as follows :

“ At this time (beginning of the 16th century) a *prince* (රජකුමාරයෙක්) who had quarrelled with *his royal father* (කුමුපියනරණිදු) came from Yápahu,‡ and lay concealed in the Rankotdiwela Walauwa, and together with me learned the art of war. On leaving, this prince took away with him his wife and his daughter Chandravati, and with them my maternal uncle's daughter Siribará Kudá Menike. After some time a messenger brought a letter to my grandfather and took me away to Jayawardhanapura, where I was placed under the king abovementioned who had succeeded to the throne under the title of Bhuvaneka Báhu (VI.). At this time it was found out that Máyádunne and Rayigam Baṇḍára, the brother princes, had sent men in disguise to Jayawardhanapura to assassinate the king.”

His royal father was therefore obviously Parákrama Báhu VI.

But there is other evidence still which should clinch the matter. In the Kalyáni inscriptions,§ Bhuvaneka Báhu (Sapumal Kumárayá) is made to speak of “ a religious gift ” he desired to send to Rámádhpati Mahárajá “ in the shape of an image of the Holy Tooth Relic, embellished with a topaz and a diamond, valued at a 100 *phalas*, which were constantly worn by *my father*, Parákrama Báhu Mahá Raja.” And in his Deḍigama grant|| Bhuvaneka Báhu describes himself as

* “ Joyfully convey this message to the thrice-auspicious great royal prince Sapumal, who, driving afar off king Arya Chakravarti and having consolidated Jaffna, now flourishes.” (*Kókila Sandéso*, verse 8.)

† Vide paper on “ Two old Sinhalese Swords,” C. B. R. A. S. Journal for 1905.

‡ Sapumal Kumárayá's connection with Yápahu is confirmed by the *Kurunégala Vistaraya*, an early 16th century topographical record, which says that he ruled as viceroy at Yápahu after his departure from Jaffna.

§ Vide Appendix and also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII., p. 45.

|| Kéggalla Report, p. 85.

the “ *son of the great King Śrī Parākrama Báhu of the Solar race.*” There is also Upham’s *Rājāvaliya** which says :

“ He caused a princess to be brought from Kirawella to be made his Queen, by whom he had a *son, whose name was Sapoomal Cumāra*, whom he educated in the most careful manner.”

There is more, however, in the Deḍigama grant† (referred to above) to prove that Sapumal Kumārayá (Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.) was the son of Parākrama Báhu VI. The prevalent opinion to-day regarding his parentage is represented in the following :

“ One Panikkan, an adventurer of royal race from the neighbouring Coast of Malabar, found an asylum and a Sinhalese bride at the Court of Kótté. He had by her two sons, Champaka Perumal, called by the Sinhalese Sapumal Kumārayá, and Jayavíra, known to the people as Ambulugala Kudá Kumārayá, whom Śrī Parākrama Báhu adopted as his sons according to the ancient custom of instituting, probably apprehending, the failure of male issue.”‡

Now, I have already shown good reason why we must assume Sapumal Kumārayá to have been the *son* of Parākrama Báhu VI. If more testimony were needed, I would point to this very Deḍigama grant which “ seems to bear on some revolt on the Kíravēli Pattuwa.”§ Let me quote the exact words of the inscription :

This great king Bhuvaneka Báhu (Sapumal Kumārayá), because the inhabitants of his *native district* had shown themselves recalcitrant, having proceeded from Jayawardhanapura (Kótté) and having conquered on all sides, arrived at Natigama (Deḍigama) in Beligal Kóralé.”

* II., 268.

† In connection with the Deḍigama grant, which is “ of the 9th (*lit.* year after the 8th) year of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.” I cannot understand why a “ reign of 7 years only ” is persistently credited to this king. To mention only two of the latest instances, *vide* C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 269 note and p. 291. Mr. Bell, in his Kégalla Report (p. 83), admits that “ the period usually allotted ” to Bhuvaneka Báhu VI., *i.e.*, 1464-1471, “ would appear to be both *too short and misdated.*”

‡ C. B. R. A. S. Journal, 1910, Vol. XXII., “ The Age of Śrī Parākrama Báhu,” p. 21.

§ Kégalla Report, p. 84.

If, then, he were the son of “ a Panikkan....who found an asylum and a Sinhalese bride at the Court of Kótté,” how could the Kíravēli Pattuwa be his “ native district,” and how could he be a “ *prince of Imperial blood* ” as Valentyn tells us? But the significance of the “ *native district* ” is apparent when my suggestion is remembered that Sapumal Kumárayá was the issue of that joint bed when Parákrama Báhu VI. and Vijaya Báhu lived as associated husbands of a Kíravēli princess at *Menikkaḍawara*, which is in Kíravēli Pattuwa, East of Beligal Kóralé.

All these are, however, matters of detail. If I mention them here, it is merely to strengthen and confirm the accuracy of my broad contention that the era current in Ceylon at the close of the 15th century was reckoned from 483 B.C., and therefore (1) that the King carried away captive by the Chinese was Vijaya Báhu V., (2) that the dates for Parákrama Báhu VI. are 1475-1527 A.D., (3) that the arrival of the Portuguese took place in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI., (4) that Parákrama Báhu VI. and Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. are identical as are Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., and (5) that Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu VII., Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII., and Vijaya Báhu VII. never reigned and their names should be taken off the list of Sinhalese kings. It will be time enough to settle upon details when these broad facts are admitted.

Assuming, then, that I am so far right, that Parákrama Báhu VI. ceased to reign in 1527 A.D. and that his grandson, who succeeded him, ruled only for a few months or even a year, the accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. (Sapumal Kumárayá) must have taken place early in 1528, and Mexia's letter of December 30, 1528, is therefore intelligible. For De Couto* tells us that “ there had already been several disturbances ” and “ Québa Permal (Sapumal Kumárayá), king of Jafanapatao ” had been hastily sum-

* C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XX., No. 60, pp. 69—70.

moned "in order to hand over the kingdom to him, he being the most valorous of all the princes of the Island. This came to the ears of his brother (Máýádunne or Ambulugala Kudá Kumárayá), the king of the Corlas, who *forthwith* hastened to take part in this business, *claiming the kingdom for himself*; but when the brother arrived, although they had many disputes, Québa Permal became King, and changing his name called himself thenceforward Boenegabao Pandar." But "Máýádunne having taken counsel with Rayigam Bandára raised disturbances in the territory which belonged to Bhuvaneka Báhu, paying no heed to the latter being their elder brother. As Bhuvaneka Báhu had no means of opposing them successfully, believing that in all Dambadiwa there was no power equal to the Portuguese, sent many presents to the king of Portugal."*

This then was the request for assistance to which both Barros and De Couto make reference,† and which Mexia mentions in the following letter‡ which he wrote to the King of Portugal on December 30, 1528:

"A galleon which arrived from Ceylon with cinnamon brought an ambassador from the king. . . . so anxious was he to be on good terms with the Portuguese in consequence of his being *at war against two brothers* who were endeavouring to seize his dominions."

Having proceeded so far, I need not labour the point. If it is admitted that Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. are identical, then it follows necessarily that Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu VII., Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII., Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX., and Vijaya Báhu VII. never reigned, that the arrival of the Portuguese took place in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI., that my dates for Parákrama Báhu VI., 1475—1527 A.D. are correct, and that the tradition current in Ceylon at the time was that the Buddha died in 483 B.C.

* *Rājāvaliya*, p. 77.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol XX., 1908, p. 57 (Barros); p. 58 (De Couto).

‡ Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I., p. 384.

But the question may here be asked: How do you get over the stumbling-block of the Kēlaniya Inscription,* according to which, apparently, Dharma Parākrama Báhu ascended the throne in 2051 A.B.=1507 A.D. and ruled for 19 years at least, the inscription being in his 19th year†? I answer that *Dharma Parākrama Báhu never lived and that the inscription is not his*. But that is no satisfactory solution of the matter. Assuming, then, for the sake of argument, that he did live and that the inscription belongs to him, I shall show the absurdity of the result we must necessarily arrive at. I adopt for the purpose the hitherto received calculation and chronology.

The man who attested the Kēlaniya inscription in Dharma Parākrama Báhu's 19th year was *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*. He was therefore alive in (2051+19)=2070 A.B., i.e., 1527 A.D. But, whatever may be said of the Mámpe (4th year) and Demaladúva (9th year) Sannas,—which are attested again by *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*,—the Ganégoḍa *Sannasa* (26th year) is ascribed on very cogent and convincing grounds to Bhuvaneka Báhu V.,‡ who reigned 30 years, and this Ganégoḍa *Sannasa* is likewise attested by the same *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*. As Bhuvaneka Báhu V. ascended the throne in 1915 A.B. (1372 A.D.), his 26th year would be 1941 A.B. (1398 A.D.) Assuming that *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál* was 25 years old at the time—a modest estimate—he must have been born in 1916 A.B. (1373 A.D.), the year after the accession

* A. I. C. No. 162; C. B. R. A. S. Journal for 1871—72, pp. 36—44.

† The prevalent opinion to-day is that the arrival of the Portuguese took place in the reign of this Dharma Parākrama Báhu, and this opinion is reflected in almost every modern publication dealing with the Portuguese period. But its inaccuracy is apparent from this very Kēlaniya inscription, according to which Dharma Parākrama Báhu ascended the throne in 2051 A.B., i.e., 2051—543=1508 A.D. The Portuguese arrival, therefore, took place, according to the calculation hitherto accepted, in the closing years of Dharma Parākrama Báhu's predecessor, Vira Parākrama Báhu, which nobody contends.

‡ C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 290.

of Bhuvaneka Báhu V. If, then, he was born in 1916 A.B. (1373 A.D.) and was still alive in 2070 A.B. (1527 A.D.), he was 154 years old when attesting the Kēlaniya inscription !! But he appears to have lived longer still, for 14 years more at least (3 of Dharma Parákrama Báhu's and 11 of Vijaya Báhu's), for we find him attesting the Devundara Déwála *Sannasa** of the latter king's 11th year, which would bring his age up to 168 years !!! Is this probable or even possible ?

But it has been contended in a recent paper on "Bhuvaneka Báhu VII.,"† that the Mámépé, Demaladúva, Ganégoḍa and Goḍagama *Sannas* should be ascribed, not to Bhuvaneka Báhu V., but to Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., who is stated to have reigned from 1521—1551 A.D. Assuming that this is correct, even though on palæographic grounds there is no justification for the assumption, the result is scarcely more satisfactory.

Nobody disputes that one of the two Kéragala inscriptions refers to Parákrama Báhu VI., who reigned from 1958—2010 A.B. which, according to my calculation, works out to 1475—1527 A.D., but which, according to the calculation now in vogue, works out to 1415—1467 A.D. Taking the latter calculation which is the popular one, the inscription, which is of the 11th year of Parákrama Báhu VI. and which is attested by our friend *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*, falls in 1426 A.D. Presuming, again modestly, that Perumál was at least 25 years old at this date, he was born in 1401 A.D. But the writer of the paper on "Bhuvaneka Báhu VII." makes out that *Perumál* was alive in 1547 A.D., which is the date he assigns to the Ganégoḍa *Sannasa*. *Perumál* was therefore 146 years old when attesting the latter grant ! Even if this were possible, which nobody will concede, De Queiroz's date, 1521 A.D. for the accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. is impossible, and a reign of 30 years is equally

* Kégalla Report, p. 96.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., pp. 269—271.

impossible. As Mr. Bell tersely describes it, "the Kēlaniya inscription damns both."*

Clearly, therefore, Dharma Parākrama Báhu never lived. It is only necessary to add that the inscription speaks of a *Parākrama Báhu*, not *Dharma Parākrama Báhu*, and to remember in this connection what I have already emphasised, that the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Rājaraṭnākara* make no mention at all of a *Dharma Parākrama Báhu* even in passing. The only Sinhalese chronicle to refer to him is the *Rājavalīya*, of which a member of this Society said recently: "A more unreliable historical work Ceylon did not possess."† That this condemnation is none too severe, certainly as regards this period at least, will be apparent if the broad lines of this paper are accepted as correct.

Who, then, is the Parākrama Báhu of the Kēlaniya inscription? I say that it is *Parākrama Báhu VI. who, according to the old tradition that the Buddha died in 483 B.C., ascended the throne in 1958 A.B., and who, according to the new tradition (which came in at this period) that the Buddha died in 544 B.C., ascended the throne in 2051 A.B.*

Why, if so, it may be asked, is there a discrepancy of 93 years instead of 61, for $2051 - 1958 = 93$ and $544 - 483 = 61$?‡

Professor Wickremasinghe's remarks, *applied in the wrong place*, are suggestive and, to my mind, conclusive. For, as I have already remarked, this is what he says:

"There remain then the years between the accession of Udaya III. in 1497 A.B., and that of Parākrama Pāṇḍya in 1590 A.B. to be accounted for. This was,

* *Id.*, p. 291. The assumption, that there were two distinct Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumáls, one succeeding the other, is impossible for obvious reasons.

† C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 331.

‡ Mr. Turnour, "by whom the matter was first fully ventilated" (R. A. S. Journal, 1909, p. 2), and who found a discrepancy of "about sixty years," attributed it to some "*intentional perversion of details in the Buddhist historical statements.*" (*Vide* Ceylon Almanac 1833, 1834; Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of 1836, 1837; *Mahāvamsa*, Introduction, pp. 48, 50.)

as stated above, a time of internal wars and foreign invasions, and complete anarchy seems to have prevailed in Ceylon. It is, therefore, most *probable* that the *chronicler could not obtain accurate information* regarding the length of the reigns of that period. He found that Udaya III. began his reign in 1497 A.B. and Parákrama Pándya in 1590 A.B., and, at the same time, *he was ignorant of the important fact that these two dates represented two different Buddhist eras*, the former placing the death of the Buddha in 483 B.C. and the latter in 544 B.C. He must, therefore, have taken it for granted that the *intervening period was 93 years* (i.e. 1590—1497 A.B.) instead of 31 (i.e. 1046—1015 A.D.), and he accordingly *adjusted the duration of the reigns*, giving longer periods to those kings as to whose reigns he had no definite information." (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, p. 157.)

The fact then remains that 61 or 93 years were at some time or another added. *That is certain.* But were they added at the time Professor Wickremasinghe is inclined to believe they were? I say "No," and Professor Geiger's words* *imply that it was improbable they were added then.* If the 61 or 93 years were as a matter of fact added then, is it not more than a mere coincidence, is it not strangely curious that there should be this discrepancy of exactly 93 years at the close of the 15th century? The addition of 93 years could not very well take place twice. Were these 93 years then added at this latter period I mention? I say emphatically "Yes," and there is remarkable testimony to prove it.†

It is sufficient to say that my dates up to Parákrama Báhu VI. have been worked out on the assumption that the addition of 93 years did *not* take place at the time (11th century) Professor Wickremasinghe *thinks it probable* it did, and my revised chronology up to this period is very strongly backed by other evidence which I have elaborated above.

* *Mahāvamsa*, Introd: XXX., XXXI.

† Judging from their evidence in the Adipola *Sannasa* case, High Priest Dharmaráma and Upánanda Terunnánse would, curiously enough, amend the date of the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI. from 1958 A.B. to 1858 A.B., that is, carry it a *hundred years back*, instead of 93, or about 100 years forward.

It is, therefore, so far correct, as I maintain. If it is correct, then *the 93 years were added subsequently* since it was not added twice, and there is no need for further argument to confirm the accuracy of my contention. But I shall not stop there, for there is other and more weighty evidence to prove that the addition of 93 years took place in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI., *and in no other.*

Firstly, then, I would direct attention to the important Végiriya Déwāle inscription—the text of which appears for the first time in the C. B. R. A. S. Journal for 1912—according to which 1957 A.B. corresponds to 1337 Śaka, the difference between the two being 620 years. Now, the date usually favoured for the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI. is 1958 A.B.,* which therefore corresponds to 1338 Śaka. Here let us remember that Parákrama Báhu ascended the throne “on the 8th day† (new moon) of the month of May,”‡ 1958 A.B., and within a few months of his accession, *i.e.*, by the end of 1958 A.B., or more probably early in 1959 A.B., made the first division of his kingdom among his “brothers” and “nephews.”§ The accession of each of these “brothers” and “nephews” to his respective kingdom therefore took place early in 1959 A.B. which, from the Végiriya Déwāle inscription, would correspond to 1339 Śaka.

But the new tradition of the Buddha's death—which, as I have said above, came in at this period, and which brought on the addition of 93 to the Buddhist era 1958 then existing—changed also the Śaka era correspondingly so as to maintain the difference of 620 years between the two eras, and 93 years were likewise added to the Śaka era 1339—the year of accession of Parákrama Báhu's brother, Vijaya Báhu, “lord of the port of Galle”—making it

* *Kāvyasékharaya* and *Peṭṭiyāna* and *Saman Déwāle* inscriptions.

† The *Rājāvaliya* (p. 67) says it was “the 7th day.”

‡ Valentyn.

§ *Vide* above.

|| $1958 + 93 = 2051$: Kēlaniya inscription.

(1339+93=) 1432 Śaka, or as the Dondra inscription* has it, “*suddha Śaka warusha ek dahas sára siya detis*”—“the correct Śaka year 1432.”

To say that 1432 is the “*suddha*” (correct) Śaka year is to imply that there had been an “*asuddha*” (incorrect) Śaka calculation, *which is true according to my theory*. In this connection, it is significant that *every* inscription previous to this Dondra one or later than it which I can think of and which bears a Śaka date, omits, naturally enough, the word “*suddha*” (correct), the usual term employed being “*Śrī Śaka*.”† The employment of the word “*suddha*” just at this time, when the Buddhist era together with the Śaka era had had an accession of 93 years is, as I say, extremely significant and, in my opinion, clinches the matter finally. Does either the Kēlaniya or the Dondra inscription, which have both been such stumbling-blocks of late and which have practically been given up as unreadable puzzles, present any difficulty now?

But, it must be remembered, the addition of 93 years instead of 61 was undoubtedly a mistake, the error being an excess of 32 years (93—61).

Was this discrepancy of 32 years perpetuated throughout or was it rectified at some time or another? It was certainly rectified and without much delay, for proof of

* C. B. R. A. S. Journal for 1870—71, pp. 26—27; *A. I. C.*, No. 162, pp. 107, 140

† *ශ්‍රී ඝන වම්* (*Śrī Śaka warsha*) “the illustrious Śaka” is the term employed in the *Laṅkātilaka* (also Gaḍaḷādeniya) Inscription (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. X., No. 34, pp. 83—95); *Hapugastēnna* inscription (C. B. R. A. S. Journal 1912, Vol. XXII., pp. 295, 362); *Vigulawatta* Inscription, (Kégalla Report, p. 79); *Vēgiriya Dēwāle* Inscription (C. B. R. A. S. Journal 1912, Vol. XXII., p. 294); while in the *Medagoḍa Dēwāle Sannasa* (Kégalla Report, p. 97), *Māṅgalagama Sannasa* (Kégalla Report, p. 99), *Geṭabēriyā Sannasa* (Kégalla Report, p. 100), *Molliḡoḍa Sannasa* (Kégalla Report, p. 102), and *Ambuḷuḡala Sannasa* (Kégalla Report, p. 42), the term employed is simply *ඝන වම්* (*Śaka warsha*).—Even outside inscriptions and *sannas*, the term “*Suddha Śaka*” is not met with. *Vide*, for instance, the *Attanagaḷuvaṇṣa* (Sinhalese version) which has: “*Śrī Śaka varshayen ekvādahas tunsiya sivu vasak pirunusanda*.”

which see my remarks on the reign of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. In regard to the much discussed and hitherto baffling Dondra inscription, I have already given the probable explanation of the difficulty it presents, an explanation which bears out my main theory that the new reckoning having as point of departure 544 B.C. came in, not in the 11th century as Professor Wickremasinghe claims, but at the close of the 15th century.

I do not, however, content myself with this proof alone of the Śaka calculation. There is more and of an equally or more weighty character.

I turn to the *Rājāvaliya*,* and we find therein that, during the reign of King Śrī Parākrāma Báhu VI., "the Siṭu king Sójāta, who was reigning in the hill-country, ceased supplying labourers, neglected payment of his yearly tribute, and rebelled."

Valentyn, who, as I have said above, and as is generally admitted, followed a fuller and more reliable *Rājāvaliya* than the one now extant, says in the same connection :

"Whilst all was now quiet in the Emperor's (*Rukula Parākrāma Báhu VI.*) dominions in Ceylon, there was in the highlands a prince, named *Jottia Sitti* or *Jothia Stoenam Raja*,† who, having been accustomed to pay tribute annually to the Emperor, now informed him that he did not intend to do so in future. He thereupon caused his people out of the five districts‡ over which he ruled to be assembled, and resolved to sever himself from the Emperor, and to assume authority as a prince on his own account; therefore, in order to induce his followers the more firmly to adhere to him, he partitioned out to various nobles many villages and lands, and conferred upon them great titles of honour (on which the Cingalese are much set)."

* p. 69.

† The "Sojana Sewo Rajah" of Upham's *Rājāvaliya*, p. 270.

‡ According to Mr. Codrington these were *Denuwara* (*Uḍu-nuwara* and *Yaṭinuwara*), *Balawita* (*Hárispattu* and *Tumpane*), *Dumbara*, *Pansiya Pattu* and *Hewaheta*.

Now, who was this "Jottia Sitti" or "Sójáta"* who presented lands and conferred titles so freely? The information up to the present about this king, except what is embodied in the extracts above, has been *nil*, and his identity has been a sore puzzle to students of this period of Ceylon history.†

I think I am, however, in a position to throw light on, if not to clear, the mystery once and for all. In the *Sin-duruwána Raṭa Kada-im Pota*‡ there is a very significant passage which reads as follows:

"King Vikrama Báhu came from Gampola to Pérádeniya and then to Kandy and built the city on the Vijayabhūmibaga, and he was the king who reduced the Baṇḍáras, taking their umbrellas and shields and giving them Mudali titles, lands, presents, &c."§

In the *Ceylon Literary Register*,¹ a writer ("K.J.P.") speaks of

"a tradition that King Vikrama Báhu¶ discovered Sengadagala Nuwara (Kandy) under some curious circumstances when he went there from Gampola..... and subsequently His Majesty built a city there..... A jackal chased a hare some distance, and at a certain place the hare suddenly stopped, turned back, and com-

* The *Perakumbásirita*, verse 58, has the following:—

බා ති ය රජවන් පැරකුම් දිනර	ද
ජෝතිය සිවරක සෙන් රැස්කල ය	ද
ජෝතිය සිවිනරවර ගතදර ක	ද
බි ති ය කරිය පරහක්වල වැ	ද

† Says Mr. Donald Ferguson: "Jottia or Jothia evidently = Yodaya, warrior; but who this warrior was I cannot say." (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXII., No. 63 (1910), p. 39.

‡ The translation of an extract from it appears in Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II., p. 971.

§ I cannot say at present why Vikrama Báhu was called "Jottia or Jothia" but in regard to the term "*Situ*" or "Sitti," it is interesting to learn from De Queiroz (Mr. Pieris' *Portuguese Era*, I., p. 449, note 27) that one of the terms used in addressing the king was *Sieto*. According to Knox (p. 53) the words "*Sihattu* and *Dishondrew*" (Disá Hámuduruwo) were applied to Disáwas outside the capital.

¶ Vol. III., pp. 355, 376.

¶ The writer says it was Vikrama Báhu III., evidently confounding him with the predecessor of Bhuvaneka Báhu V.

menced chasing the jackal, and therefore the place was considered *Jayabhūmi* (victorious ground), and in this manner Sengadagala or Kandy was selected for building a city."

Now, there is further valuable information regarding this "Jottia Sitti" or Vikrama Báhu, the founder of *Senkhanda Sailabhidhāna Śrīwardhanapura** (Kandy). And this information is to be found in the Palkumbura Copper *Sannasa*† from which, owing to its importance in this connection, I quote somewhat largely :

"At the time when the great King *Bhuwanayka Báhu* (V.) of the Solar dynasty, a lineal descendant of the first king of the world, of great power and renown, was reigning in the city of *Jayawardhana Kótté*, he had one of his brothers admitted to the order of priesthood called *Bhuwanayka Báhu Terunnánse*, who resided in the same city. After the king had attained heaven, this priest, accompanied by several of his brothers, set out from the city for the hill-country, and took up his abode in *Uruléwatta* in *Udunuwara*. During the sojourn of this priest in this place, the King *Vikrama Báhu*, who founded the city of *Senkhanda Sailabhidhāna Śrīwardhanapura* and made it his capital, attained heaven, and his son *Jayawira Asthána* ascended the throne. He invited *Bhuwanayka Báhu Teru*, who was then residing in the village *Uruléwatta*, to come to the city and made him transcribe *Wisuddhimarga*, in order that His Majesty may acquire merit in this and in the next world; and as his remuneration for this transcript His Majesty gave the *Teru*, in addition to numerous live and dead stock, the *Badawedilla* called *Palkumbura*, in *Kulugammanasiya pattuwa* of *Sárasiya pattuwa*, 4 amunu paddy sowing extent, with the houses, plantations, high and low lands appurtenant thereto, as well as a storied house built thereon for a *pansala*."

* According to the *Dambulla Viháre Tudupat* (Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pp. 124-127) of 1726 A.D.—a comparatively modern grant—the founder of "the city *Senkhanda*" was king *Śrī Vikramabáhu* who ascended the throne in 2085 A.B., and who held a Convocation "and gave the *Upasampadá* ordination to 350 priests." This is obviously a mistake, since we know from the *Mahāvamsa* (ch: 92, vv. 6-8, 23-25) and from other sources that the king who ascended the throne in 2085 A.B. and held the Convocation referred to above was *Vira Vikrama*, whose accession took place long after—certainly, at least 33 years after—the founding of "the city *Senkhanda*." For there are at least two *sannas* (Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. I., p. 339 and Vol. II., p. 757) by a king *Vikrama Báhu*, both of which are dated 2052 A.B. and both issued from *Senkhandagala*.

† Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II., pp. 687, 688.

It is evident then from this *sannasa* that, when “ Jottia Sitti ” or Vikrama Báhu, the founder of Kandy, was deposed by Parákrama Báhu VI., or, as Valentyn has it, “ driven out of Candi,” his kingdom (the hill-country) was entrusted to “ his son Jayawíra Asthána ” who, as the *Rájávaliya** tells us, was a “ royal prince of the Soḷar race, descendant of the Gampolu dynasty.” That Jayawíra was certainly a “ descendant of the Gampola dynasty ” is obvious from the fact that his father, *King Vikrama Báhu (Jótiya Sitti)*, came from Gampola† to found Kandy. It was this Jayawíra, the *Víra Vikkama* of the *Mahávaṇsa*,‡ who, “ when 2085 years were passed after the *Parinibbána* of the supreme Buddha.....became king in the city of Senkhandaséla Sirivaddhana,”§ and who married a daughter of Kirávelle Rálahámi.¶ It was this Jayawíra to whom Máyádunne fled for assistance and from whom “ he obtained a large force of hill-men.”¶¶ It was the same Jayawíra who, later, “ commenced hostilities in the Four Kóralés which belonged to King Máyádunne,”** but had eventually, on being expelled from Kandy by his son Karalliyadde Baṇḍára,†† to flee for a home to Máyádunne

* p. 69.

† *Sinduruwána Raṭa Kada-im-pota*, Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II., p. 971.

‡ Mr. Donald Ferguson himself admits that De Couto's “ Javira Bandar, first cousin to Madune ” was “ Jayavira of the *Rájávaliya*. (72, 75, 81, etc.), *Víra Vikkama* of the *Mahávaṇsa*.” (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XX., p. 124, note 5)

§ *Mahávaṇsa*, ch. 92, vv. 6-8.

¶ *Rájávaliya*, p. 72. It was the same Jayavira who “ was minded to become a Christian ” and who acted so treacherously to Antonio Moniz Barreto. (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XX., pp. 126-131.)

¶¶ *Id.*, p. 75.

** *Id.*, p. 81. The *Mahávaṇsa* says:—“ Now while this famous king *Víra Vikkama* reigned in this manner, a number of lesser kings, born of the race of the Sun, lived in divers places at Jayavaddhana and the like countries near the sea-coast; and among them there was a certain king, *Máyádhánu* by name, who was a mighty chief of men.” (ch: 93, vv. 1-2.)

†† De Couto, Dec. VI., Bk. VIII., ch: IV., pp. 133-4; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, 78; Mr. Pieris' *Portuguese Era*, I., p. 108—(De Queiroz).

himself and “ lay at his (Máýádunne's) feet the crown he had worn and make obeisance.”*

It is needless however to go into any further details. The fact remains that Jayawíra's father, Vikrama Báhu or Jottia Sitti, the founder of Kandy and the contemporary of *Parákrama Báhu VI.*, ceased to reign† in or before 2085 A.B., for in that year his son succeeded him.‡

Now, how long did Vikrama Báhu (Jottia Sitti) reign? Happily, there is ample evidence. There are at least four *Sunnas* by him and they bear strong testimony to the correctness of my contention :

GALGANE VIHÁRÉ SANNASA.§—“ On the 8th day of the month of Wesak, in the year of our Lord Gautama Buddha 2052.....The undermentioned landshave hereby been made over, for charity's sake, in presence of the ministers of the palace *Siriwardhana Máligáwa at Kandy*, to the *Galgane Viháré at Hendeniya*, for the maintenance thereof, by me *Śrī Sēnásampat Vikrama Báhu*.....as recompense for the pains taken by *Bamunu Buddhawansasámi*, the grandson of *Kanda Parákrama Báhu*, in writing the sacred book known as “ *Sangutsangiya* ”.....In proof of this donation, this deed, written on a sheet of copper, is granted under my hand, taking my oaths repeatedly as to the validity thereof.....By order *Sannasiwatte Wakele Perumal*.”

(2) *WERAWALA (ALIAS) KUTTANGAL VIHÁRÉ SANNASA*.||—“ Granted in the year of Buddha 2052.... The following lands in *Udunuwara*.....which were formerly held under the *Siwuruparamparáwa* tenure, are hereby assigned over to the *Kuttangal Viháré* for its improvement.....by the great *King Srisina Samasta Vikrama Báhu*.....and surrounded by a great assembly of his subjects in the *Daladá Máligáwa*, of the illustrious city of *Senkhandagala*, have offered.....This *sannasa* has been inscribed under royal command by *Sanhassiwanta Kula Perumaluni*.”

(3) *WANNIPOLA SANNASA*.¶—“ When the King of Kings, *Śrī Sanghabo Sēnásammata Vikrama Báhu* was reigning in *Senkadagala*, on the full moon day of the 20th year of his reign.....he was graciously pleased to

* *Rájávaliya*, p. 82.

† Died, or, as Valentyn says, was “ driven out of Candi.”

‡ *Mahāvamsa*, ch: 92, vv. 6-8

§ *Laurie's Gazetteer*, Vol. I., p. 339

|| *Laurie's Gazetteer*, Vol. II., pp. 757-8.

¶ *Id.*, pp. 910, 911.

bestow" on two artists some lands and "houses at Wannipola, in the portion of the Atapattu Sēnānāyaka side in the Sinduruwanabada Udunuwara.....In this tenor the royal decree was issued, and by command this copper plate *sannasa* was inscribed by me, Sanhassiwanta Nainarumbha."

(4) *KOBBEKADUWE VIHĀRÉ SANNASA*.*—"In the 30th year of the reign of the blessed *Siri Sangabo Sri Sēnā Sammata Vikrama Báhu*.....all the land included within the boundaries aforesaid.....having been offered to the venerable Māwala Ratnāwalli, for his maintenance.....accordingly has this *sannasa* been caused to be prepared by the royal mandate at the palace of Kandy before the assembly of the priests."

Now, what can we infer from the four *Sannas* above? *Firstly*, that Vikrama Báhu (Jottia Sitti), the contemporary of Parákrama Báhu VI.,† was on the throne of Senkhandagala in 2052 A.B., and *Secondly*, that he reigned at least 30 years. We know from the *Mahāvamsa*‡ that his son Vira Vikkama (Jayavira) ascended the throne in 2085 A.B. Therefore, Vikrama Báhu (Jottia Sitti) reigned at least 33 years (2085-2052=33).

Now, it may be asked: How is it possible for Vikrama Báhu (Jottia Sitti), who was reigning in 2052 A.B. to be a contemporary of Parákrama Báhu VI., since the latter ascended the throne in 1958 A.B., and ruled for no more than 52 years, *i.e.*, $1958 \div 52 = 2010$ A.B.

I answer: 1958 A.B. represents the old tradition that Buddha died in 483 B.C. According to the new tradition—that Buddha died in 544 B.C.—Parákrama Báhu VI. ascended the throne of Kóṭṭé in $1958 + 93 = 2051$ A.B. Vikrama Báhu (Jottia Sitti) was on the throne of Senkhandagala in the next year, *i.e.*, 2052 A.B., and was therefore a contemporary of Parákrama Báhu VI. Or to put it thus:

* *Id.*, Vol. I., p. 457.

† The (unpublished) *Madawala Gal-Sannasa*, of the 17th year of Parákrama Báhu VI.—for a copy of which I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Codrington, C. C. S.—is attested by "Jóti Sitāno."

‡ Ch. 92, vv. 6-8.

Acc. to 483 B.C. trad...1958 A.B... year of access : of Par. Báhu VI.
 „ 544 „ .. 1958+93=2051 A.B. „
 „ „ „ ...2052 A.B....earliest year known of Vik. Báhu

All which means, not only that the Kēlaniya inscription is of the 19th year of Parákrama Báhu VI., but also that Parákrama Báhu VI. and Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. are one and the same person as are also Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII.; that Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu VII., Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII. and Vijaya Báhu VII. never reigned; that the Portuguese arrived in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI.; that therefore my dates for the regnal years of Parákrama Báhu VI., 1475-1527 A.D. are correct; and that the tradition current in Ceylon at the close of the 15th century (that the Buddha died in 483 B.C.) gave place to the new tradition, which came in at this period and began to be observed, that the Buddha died in 544 B.C.

But I have not done with proofs of the soundness of my theories.

In connection with the *Maṅgalagama Sannasa*,* Mr. Bell says: “The Maṅgalagama Naides hold a copy of a curious *Vitti-Patraya*, or plaint, and the *Sīttu* or ‘order’ of the Adigár, after inquiring into the case (translated below), which carry back the history of this branch of the family to the 15th or 16th century.”

Both on account of its interest as well as its importance to my argument, the full text of the *Vitti-Patraya* is reproduced below:

THE VITTI-PATRAYA.

“The most fortunate and illustrious Bhuvaneka Báhu (VI. ?), Rája of Kótté, the godlike King of the whole Island of Lanjá, came to know during his reign that a very skilled *Mul-ácháriyá* (goldsmith) had arrived from Dambadiva in a vessel and landed at Mánaduwa. As a *Mul-ácháriyá* so eminent in his profession had come into the country of the Sinhalese, His Majesty directed that respect should be paid to him, and that he should be

* Kégalla Report, p. 98.

brought (to the Court) on an elephant. The king sent Waduáwala Déwasinha Muláchári Naide, mounted on an elephant, to fetch the said *Mul-ácháriyá* who was at Mánaduwa, and to bring him seated upon the back of the elephant to the city of Kótté. When brought before the king the *Mul-ácháriyá* respectfully presented a telescope (*ira-sanda-balana-kannáḍiya*) and an hour glass (*pé-tēti-sútraya*).

“His Majesty was well pleased and granted to him the village Maṅgalagama, situated in Kindigoda Kóralé, in Four Kóralés, for his maintenance (*baḍa-weḍilla*), and conferred on him the title *Mandalawalli Naide*. He continued to perform services to the (Kótté) king.

“After his death during the reign of the godlike king, who in this world was equal to Śakra, and resided at the city *Ambuḷugala Nuwara* (? Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII.), His Majesty inquired whether there were any descendants of Mandalawalli Naide who came to the city of Kótté from Dambadiwa. Being informed that there were two orphan children, related as aunt and nephew, the king had both brought to Ambuḷugala Nuwara. The girl was taken into *Dugganna-uśala* (Palace), and the boy placed at *Mahagabaḍáwa* (Royal Treasury) to be brought up.

“After they were grown up, His Majesty ordered that they should marry each other, but the girl protested against marrying her nephew. This being reported to the king, His Majesty gave her the option of marrying her nephew or of being first tied to a *kambakanuwa* (whipping-post) and receiving 500 strokes, and then having baskets filled with sand placed on her head and her body ripped open. Under this threat the girl was frightened into consenting to obey the order. The king, now satisfied, gave her two *samakkattu* cloths from the royal *gabaḍáwa* and carried out the marriage. The village Maṅgalagama was granted to the girl to be possessed by her in *mav-urumé*, and she was styled *Etana*.

“Subsequently when the godlike king Rájasiṅha (I.) was reigning at Sitáwaka, he conferred the said title on a lad who was a grandson of the aforesaid Mandalawalli Naide, and he, too, ever performed services to His Majesty submissively.

“The daughter of the above said Etana, called Punchihámi Náchchire, was married to Kolomba Naide, and possessed the village as her property, and her husband, the said Kolomba Naide, performed services to the godlike king Rájasiṅha (II.), the king of kings.

“From Punchihámi Náchchire, her son Madduma Naide inherited (the village Maṅgalagama), and continued to possess it, performing services to the godlike great king Vimala Dharma (Súrya II.).

“From Madduma Naide, his son Gallat Naide inherited and possessed it, performing services to the king Kundasāla Naréन्द्रa Siṅha, the peer of Śakra Deviyó in this world.

“From Gallat Naide, I, his son Madduma Naide obtained it after he had kissed my palm and told me to take without fear the five oaths that no evil may fall upon me.

“Therefore, there is no other entitled to the village Maṅgalagama, either by male or female inheritance.

“I beg that the officers of His Majesty's Court, who are acquainted with the four forms of wrong (lust, anger, fear, and ignorance), and the Maha Nilame, may be graciously pleased to do me the favour of investigating this matter and administering justice: by which they will obtain merit.”

SITTU.

“Appeared before the Chief Priest (?) at the great *Pallé-mahawāsala* Nilawala Naide and his younger brother, on account of a *gam-vittiya* (land dispute), and made a complaint: therefore the said dispute was inquired into from both sides and the following decree made:

“From and out of the two amunams of extent of the *paravēni paṇḍuwa* possessed by their father, Gedaragáwá Bittara wi-péla, Hewanmaditta Biju-péla and Otatuwa pahala Biju-péla, all the above five pelas sowing extent are decreed to Nilawala Loku Naide. In confirmation this *sittu* is granted on this Monday the 3rd day of the Full Moon in the month of Poson, in the year called Subhānu Śaka, 1685 (1763 A.D.).

Now, nobody will dispute that the Bhuvaneka Báhu of the *vitti-patraya* is the 6th of that name. I maintain that there was no Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. at all, but, granting, for the sake of argument, that there was one such, it is nowhere contended that his grandfather succeeded him; for Ambulu-gala Kudá Kumárayá (Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII.), we are told,* was the grandfather of Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. There can be no question, then, that the Bhuvaneka Báhu of the present *vitti-patraya* is the 6th of that name.

That being settled, a curious and, to my mind, inexplicable situation arises, for some of the facts stated in the *vitti-patraya* are absolutely irreconcilable with the notions† current to-day of the kings of this period.

* Kéḡalla Report, p. 5.

† *Id.*

Firstly, who was “the godlike king who.....resided at the city *Ambuḷugala Nuwara*?” Mr. Bell suggests the name of Vira Parākrama Báhu VIII.—indeed, no other can be suggested—but he ruled at Kótté, at least so we are told,* not at *Ambuḷugala Nuwara*. It may be urged, however, that the *vitti-patraya* refers to Kudá Kumárayá before his accession to the throne and while he was resident at *Ambuḷugala Nuwara*, i.e., in the life-time of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI., his brother. But the *vitti-patraya* is positive that the events related took place “after his (Bhuvaneka Báhu VII.’s) death” and “during the reign of *His Majesty* the godlike *King*” at *Ambuḷugala Nuwara*. What is the explanation?

Secondly, the *vitti-patraya* tells us that, while “King Rájasinḥa I. was reigning at Sítáwaka, he conferred the said title on a *lad* who was a *grandson* of the aforesaid Mandalawalli Naide.” That is to say, this Mandalawalli Naide—(being “a *Mul-ácháriyá* so eminent in his profession,” he must have been at least 30 years old when he came)—had a grandson who was a mere “*lad*” about a 100 years after his arrival in the Island! For, according to the hitherto accepted chronology, Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. ascended the throne in 1464 A.D., and the *Mul-ácháriyá*’s arrival might be placed about the middle of the reign, i.e., about 1468 A.D., since, for some time after “he continued to perform services to the king.” Now, in Rája Siṅha’s time, say in 1581 A.D. (to take the year of his accession), this Mandalawalli Naide’s grandson was “a *lad*,” say, about 15 years old, in which case the little fellow was born in 1566 A.D. In other words, a grandson was born to the Naide just 98 years (1566-1468), or about 3 generations, after his arrival in Ceylon! What again is the explanation?

More extraordinary still is the case of “the above said *Etana*” who married in Vira Parākrama Báhu’s reign, say, in 1505 A.D. (to take the last year of that king’s

* *Id.*

reign). For, in the reign of Rájá Siṅha II., in 1634 (taking his 1st year), that is to say, about 130 years after her marriage, this *Etana* had a daughter, Punchihami Náchchire, who was not only young enough to be "married to Kolomba Naide" and to have a son of her own called Madduma Naide, but "her husband, the said Kolomba Naide" was also young enough to perform "services to the godlike king Rájá Siṅha II." What, I ask again, is the explanation of this extraordinary longevity and still more extraordinary senile fecundity?

It is futile to question the genuineness or accuracy of the *vitti-patraya*, for, apart from other considerations, the *Sittu* makes it certain that the facts stated above were "inquired into from both sides" by those in authority and a decree made in favour of the person who produced the *vitti-patraya*, in support of his claim.*

What then is the solution of the puzzle? The solution lies in my theory (elaborated above), that Ambuḷgala Kudá

* In this connection it may be of interest to state that, as in the Maṅgalagama *Sannasa*, grants of lands were from time to time made to other members of the Rankadu branch of the "*Ābharana-Pattalé*," and the family history is well attested by the following:—

- (1) *Tudupata* Śaka 1566 to Maṅgalagama Badal Naide
- (2) *Tudupata* „ 1580 to Kalubówila Lettan Ácháriyá
- (3) *Ola Sannasa* „ 1630 to Biyagama Ácháriyá
- (4) *Sittuwa* „ 1632 to Ganoruwe Ábarana Ácháriyá
- (5) *Tudupata* „ 1639 to Biyagama Mandalawalli Ácháriyá
- (6) *Sittuwa* „ 1653 to Márukona Ábarana Ácháriyá
- (7) *Sittuwa* „ 1664 to Udasgiriye Ábarana Naide
- (8) *Ola Sannasa* „ 1673 to Biyagama Ácháriyá
- (9) *Sittuwa* „ 1675 to Nilavela Ábaranayá
- (10) Copper *Sannasa* Śaka 1685 to Déva Siṅha Mulácháriyá
- (11) Copper *Sannasa* „ 1685 to Eldeniye Sippácháriyá
- (12) Copper *Sannasa* „ 1694 to Eldeniye Sippácháriyá
- (13) *Tudupata* „ 1703 to Biyagama Ábarana Ácháriyá
- (14) Copper *Sannasa* „ 1703 to Arattana Dévéndra Ácháriyá
- (15) Copper *Sannasa* „ 1708 to Dévéndra Ácháriyá
- (16) Copper *Sannasa* „ 1712 to Eldeniye Sippácháriyá
- (17) Copper *Sannasa* „ 1725 to Eldeniye Sippácháriyá
- (18) Copper *Sannasa* „ 1730 to Déva Siṅha Mulácháriyá

See also Mr. H. W. Codrington's interesting paper on "The Kandyen Navandannó."—C. B. R. A. S. Journal No. 62, Vol. XXI., 1909.

Kumárayá and Máyádunne are one and the same person, and that he “resided at the city Ambuḷugala Nuwara” and exercised sovereignty there before Sítawaka was built in the early years of his brother, Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. (Sapumal Kumárayá). Assume the correctness of this theory, and the *vitti-patraya* becomes perfectly accurate and intelligible. For my dates for Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. and Rája Siṅha are 1528—1551 A.D. and 1581—1591 A.D. respectively. If, then, Mandalawalli Naide came in the middle of Bhuvaneka Báhu’s reign (probably he came earlier), the date would be about 1540 A.D. since the latter reigned 23 years. And the Naide could quite possibly, naturally, have “*a lad*” for a grandson in Rája Siṅha’s reign, 1581—1591 A.D. Similarly, the *Etana*, if she married in 1581 (the last year of Kudá Kumárayá or Máyádunne), could most naturally have a daughter “married to Kolomba Naide” while Rája Siṅha II. was ruling, and this Kolomba Naide be not too old to perform services to that king.

In connection with this *vitti-patraya* of the Mangalagama Naides, I shall add only this one remark: Considering the correct sequence of its list of almost all the kings from Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. down to Naréndra Siṅha, it is suggestive, nay, it is strongly significant that there is no mention whatsoever in it of Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu VII., Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII., Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX., Vijaya Báhu VII. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., the very “kings” who, I maintain, never existed and therefore never ruled at all!

Is there need of any further proof in regard to the general soundness of my theories and the correctness of my dates? If so, here is something more with which I shall content myself for the present, as this paper has already assumed considerable proportions.

Let us take the Ceylon Śaka era and trace its origin.

The *Rājāvali*ya* tells us :

“The next king was Chóranāga, son of Vaḷagambāhu, who razed to the ground 18 viháras. During his reign the island of Laṅká was struck with a famine. It occurred thus :

“Milindu, king of the city Śágal in Jambudvīpa, coveted a certain woman and wickedly put to death her innocent husband after he had secured his conviction by unjust means. The king had told his servants: ‘Charge her husband with some fault or other and tell me.’ Accordingly, they watched on the road which the Brahmin (husband) took while going to trade. As he came down to a mountain pass they drove towards the Brahmin the Prime Minister’s bull which had been used for ploughing and hid themselves. The bull finding no room to pass turned back, the Brahmin following the bull; upon which they rushed out and seized the Brahmin, demanding: ‘Where are you taking this bull by stealth?’ and hailed him before the king, who put him to death.

“The Brahmin’s wife, having come to know that the king had put the Brahmin to death, exclaimed: “As truly as I have observed the duty of a good and virtuous wife in not violating my marriage vow, may the country of this king come to ruin;’ and having smeared the soles of her feet with charcoal, she threw three handfuls of water into the air, clapped her hands thrice, entered her house, shut the door, and breathed her last.

“The gods being offended, there was no rain, and Dambadiva suffered from famine for twelve years.

“Be it known that at the same time, because Chóranāga, king of Laṅká, demolished the viháras, this beautiful Laṅká also suffered from famine for three years. Know also that the date of this famine, called *Bemini-sáya*, coincided with the commencement of the Śaka era. The people afterwards killed the said Chóranāga, whose reign had lasted 12 years.

“Be it known that at this time 623 years had elapsed since the death of our Buddha.”

Now, as 623 A.B. represents the end of the famine after three years, the date of the commencement of the famine is 620—1 A.B. which “coincided with the commencement of the Śaka era.” Or to put it thus :

621 A.B.=1 Śaka.

But, as a matter of fact, we know that at the date of the famine called *Bemini-sáya* in Chóranāga’s reign, 623 years

* pp. 44-45.

had not elapsed since the death of Buddha. Chóranága, according to my Table, came to the throne in 484 A.B., and this date is practically supported by Professor Geiger.* What is the difference? The difference is $623-484=139$ years, and this represents the difference between the Śaka and Christian eras. In other words

$$621 \text{ A.B.} = 1 \text{ Śaka} = 139 \text{ A.D.}$$

Now, what is the date, according to the Christian era, of Chóranága's accession? According to my list, as already stated, he began his reign in 484 A.B. which, on the hypothesis that Buddha died in 483 B.C. works out to 1 A.D., and, on the hypothesis that Buddha died in 544 B.C., works out to 61 A.D. According to the hitherto accepted chronology, then, $1 \text{ Śaka} = 61 \text{ A.D.}$ But I have already shown that $1 \text{ Śaka} = 139 \text{ A.D.}$ The difference is $139-61=78$, which is the equation in vogue for the Śaka era, and which, according to the above, is 61 years too short.

The rule, then, relative to the three eras current in Ceylon up to the 15th century was this: *The Buddhist era must be 620—1 years ahead of the Śaka Era, and the Śaka era 139 years short of the Christian era.*

Now, let us take the Végiriya Déwále inscription,† according to which “Śrī Śaka 1337” corresponds to “Śrī Buddha 1957.” The difference between the two being $1957-1337=620$, let us find the corresponding Christian era. The Śaka era, we know, must be 139 years short of the

* Geiger's date (*Mahávaṇsa* Introd. p. XXXVII.) for the accession of Chóranága is 480, i.e., 4 years shorter than mine. This shortage, increasing up to something like 10 years at the close of Maháséna's reign, makes the total number of Geiger's years for the sovereigns of the *Mahávaṇsa* 834 years 7 months and 25 days or 835 years nearly. My total for the same (*vide* my Table) is 845 years, which is in perfect agreement with the chronicles. For, “the *Rájávaliya* and *Pújávaliya* reckon the sum total at 844 years. 9 months, 25 days, the *Nikáya Saṅgrahawa* reckons the time up to Maháséna's accession at 818, and thus the time up to his death at 845 years.”

† C.B.R.A.S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., p. 294.

Christian era. Therefore, 1337 Śaka=1337+139=1476 A.D. Now, as 1957 A.B.=1337 Śaka=1476 A.D., the year 1958 A.B. (year of accession of Parākrama Báhu VI.)=1338 Śaka=1477 A.D. My date for Parākrama Báhu's accession is 1475 A.D., the discrepancy of two years arising from the reasons already previously stated.

The fact to be noted here is that my date, 1475 A.D., for Parākrama Báhu's accession has been arrived at on the hypothesis that Buddha died in 483 B.C. (1958—483=1475), and this confirmation of its correctness is yet another link in the chain of evidence supporting my contention that the Portuguese arrived in the reign of Parākrama Báhu VI., that Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu VII. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. never reigned as such, and that the tradition current in Ceylon—and observed for purposes of calculation—up to the close of the 15th century was that the Buddha died in 483 B.C.

Apart from the Végiriya Déwale inscription, the only other grant I can at present remember which specifies both the *Buddha warshsa* and its Śaka equivalent, is the Munniṣṣeram *Sannasa*, the following translation of which is filed in P. C. Chilaw, 15,482 :

“ In the year of the holy Gautama Buddha 2060, in the year of the great King Śaka 1435, in the 12th year of Lord Chakrawarti wansai Nirabut Nawkabahu (?), on Friday the 7th of the increasing moon of the month Poson,

“ It was granted unto 12 out of the 19 persons including the Brahamaṇa Pandit Mudiyaṇse called Usurdi-Satiskanda Chakrawarti Rājaguru who was sent for from Kimbulwatura in Dambadiwa (India) to effect a cure of the lightning disease of the prince of King Parākramabáhu, and to Bollate Gurunnéhe and to Tiska darabula Gurunnéhe and to Déwaguru Bandára, and to Rājaguru Bandára and to Sameracón Bandára and to Túttukuti Appurála the extent of hundred forty amunams from the five villages including Munniṣṣeram. And it was also granted unto the seven Brahamaṇas who blessed and cured the prince of the lightning disease with the food prepared of the milk obtained from the rock, the 475 amunams extent at Munniṣṣeram including the seven amunams called Kirigelu hatamuna bounded on the east by

the stream called Mala ela which flows into the tank of Karawita, on the south-east by the two stones planted at the three limits of Mádampe on the Sawmayadiga (north) by the ferry called Mana Mantota of the pond Kaludiya pokuna and on the north by the stream flowing into Munniṣsarama and by the stone pile and by the stream which flows from Karawita. It was granted to be possessed by the children and grandchildren of these seven persons while the sun and moon exist by performing the offering ceremony to the holy God Vishnu of the Munniṣsaram temple. Thus the tudapat and copper plates were granted by order of the powerful great King Prákramabáhu."

Now, the following facts should be carefully noted: The *Sannasa* was (1) "granted by order of the powerful great King Prákramabáhu," (2) "in the 12th year" of his reign, (3) which corresponded to 2060 A.B. and 1435 Śaka, and (4) in connection with "a cure of the lightning disease of the prince of King Prákramabáhu."

According to the hitherto accepted chronology and "by intrinsic evidence" viewed in the light of that chronology, this *Sannasa* must be "*condemned as not genuine*,"* but in the light of the views elaborated in this paper I venture to think that the *Sannasa* admits of a reasonable explanation and that there is ground for believing in its genuineness.

Now, according to the chronology in vogue, this *Sannasa* must be ascribed to Dharma Parákrama Báhu, but it cannot be too often remembered that the *Rájávaliya* (by no means a reliable work of itself), is the *only Sinhalese chronicle* to mention *Dharma Parákrama Báhu*, and even the *Rájávaliya* does not say that Dharma Parákrama Báhu was ever married, much less that he had a son as the *Sannasa* would suggest. Besides, the *Sannasa* was granted by order of a "*Parákrama Báhu*," not a "*Dharma Parákrama Báhu*." I would then ascribe the *Sannasa* to Parákrama Báhu VI. (like the Kēlaniya inscription) and explain the dates as follows:

* C.B.R A.S. Journal, Vol. XIX., p. 399, note.

The first thing to be noted is that, unlike the Végiriya Déwāle inscription (1957 A.B.=1337 Śaka), which gives a difference of 620 years between the *Buddha* and *Śaka warshas*, the present *Sannasa* gives 625 years (2060-1435=625), which is five years in excess.*

I have already shown that there are two dates for Parākrama Báhu's accession: 1958 A.B. (according to the old tradition that Buddha died in 483 B.C.) and 2051 A.B. (according to the new tradition that Buddha died in 544 B.C.). According to the *Sannasa*, the 12th year of the King was 2060 A.B., in which case his 1st year was 2048 A.B., which is 3 years short of 2051, the date according to the new reckoning having as point of departure 544 B.C. What is the explanation of this discrepancy of 3 years? Śrī Rāhula in his *Mogallāna Panchikā Pradīpa* contradicts the date given by him in his *Kāvyaśekhara*, and says that Parākrama Báhu VI. ascended the throne, not in 1958 A.B., but in 1955 A.B., and this date is confirmed in the astrological work entitled *Ganitasīṅha*. If, therefore, 1958 A.B. corresponds to 2051 A.B., 1955 would obviously correspond to 2048 A.B., and the *Buddha warsha* of the *Sannasa* is therefore intelligible.

In regard to the explanation of the *Śaka warsha* of the *Sannasa*, the following will make reference easy :

ANNUS BUDDHUS.			ŚAKA.
2048	..	..	1423
2049	..	..	1424
2050	..	..	1425
2051	..	..	1426
2052	..	..	1427
2053	..	..	1428
2054	..	..	1429
2055	..	..	1430
2056	..	..	1431
2057	..	..	1432
2058	..	..	1433
2059	..	..	1434
2060	..	..	1435

* The difference usually ranges between 620 and 623.

I have already explained how 93 years came to be added to 1958, making 2051 A.B., the year of accession of Parákrama Báhu VI., and how the Śaka year was correspondingly increased, making it 1431 Śaka, *thus maintaining the difference of 620 years between the Buddha and Śaka warshas* (2051-1431=620). Now, it being noted that 2051 A.B. should correspond to 1431 Śaka, let us turn to the Table above, and what do we find? We find that 2051 A.B.=1426 Śaka, i.e., 5 years too short. How did the discrepancy of 5 years arise? The mistake is obvious. The *Sannasa* makes 2060 A.B.=1435 Śaka, representing a difference of 625 years between the two eras instead of a difference of 620 years as required by the "rule." Properly worked out then and *maintaining the difference of 620 years between the Buddha and Śaka warshas*, the dates would work out thus:

2051 A.B.=1431 Śaka

2060 A.B.=1440 Śaka

The discrepancy of 5 years in the *Śaka warsha* of the *sannasa* is therefore intelligible.

In regard to "the prince of King Prákramabáhu" who was suffering from what is called "lightning disease," the reference is obviously to one of the "two sons" whom Correa alludes to,* probably Sapumal Kumárayá who succeeded his father as Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.

A.B. 1958 } A.D. 1475—Accession of Parákrama Báhu VI.
 A.B. 2051 } —Beligala Viháre *Sannasa*.†
 —Composition of *Kávyasékhara* begun.

A.B. 1964 } A.D. 1481—Watarakgoda inscription,‡ 6th
 A.B. 2057 } year.

A.B. 1968 } A.D. 1485—*Námávaliya* composed.
 A.B. 2061 } —Kudumirisa inscription,§ 10th year.

* Vide above.

† Kégalla Report, pp. 28, 94-96.

‡ *Id.*, p. 82.

§ C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. X., No. 34, pp. 95-102.

- A.B. 1969 } A.D. 1486—Kérágala inscription* (No. 2), 11th
A.B. 2062 } year, attested by *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*.
- A.B. 1977 } A.D. 1494—Kelaniya inscription, 19th year,
A.B. 2070 } attested by *Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*.
- A.B. 1989 } A.D. 1506—Arrival of the Portuguese.†
A.B. 2082 }
- A.B. 1991 } A.D. 1508—Nuno Vaz Pereira arrives “ in
A.B. 2084 } search of cinnamon.”‡
- A.B. 1992 } A.D. 1509—The King seriously ill.§
A.B. 2085 } —*Kávyasékkharaya* completed,|| 34th
year.
Deposition or death of King
Vikrama Báhu (Jottia Sitti), the
founder of Senkhandagala, and
the throne offered to Jayavíra
Asthána of Gampola who assumes
the title of (Jaya) Víra Vikrama.
- A.B. 1996 } A.D. 1513—Munnisseram inscription,¶ 38th
A.B. 2089 } year.
- A.B. 1997 } A.D. 1514—Pepiliyána ** inscription, 39th
A.B. 2090 } year.
- A.B. 1999 } A.D. 1516—Chandra Bháratí (at the request of
A.B. 2092 } a friend named Subrahmanya)
completes his *Vritta-Ratnákara*
Panchiká, a commentary on the
prosodial work *Vritta-Ratnákara*
by Kédarabhatta.††
- A.B. 2001 } A.D. 1518—Portuguese permitted to erect a
A.B. 2094 } fort.
3,000 Moors defeated by 40 Portu-
guese.‡‡
Treaty between Portuguese and
Sinhalese.

* C. B. R. A. S. Journal (1912), Vol. XXII., pp. 353-4.

† *Id.* Vol. XIX., No. 59.

‡ De Barros, Dec. II., 1; Ribeiro's *Ceílao* (Pieris), p. 15.

§ *Id.*

|| Translation by Mr W. P. Ranasinghe quoted in C.B.R.A.S. Journal, Vol. XXII., No. 63, p. 35.

¶ C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. X., No. 35, pp. 115-119.

** *A. I. C.*, No. 160.

†† D' Alwis' *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 173.

‡‡ Mr. Pieris' *The Portuguese Era*, p. 459.

A.B. 2003 } A.D. 1520—Construction of Portuguese fort
A.B. 2096 } begun.

First siege of Colombo by the
Sinhalese.*

Peace between Portuguese and
Sinhalese.

Panchikā Pradīpa completed, 45th
year.

A.B. 2007 } A.D. 1524—Portuguese fort dismantled and
A.B. 2100 } abandoned.†

A.B. 2010 } A.D. 1527—*Vijaya Bá Kolleya*.

A.B. 2103 } Accession of Jaya Báhu II. on the
death of Parákrama Báhu VI.

JAYA BÁHU II. (JAYAVIRA PARÁKRAMA BÁHU.)

A.B. 2010-2011 }
A.B. 2103-2104 } A.D. 1527-1528.

No. 168. After the *Vijaya Bá Kolleya* and the death of Vijaya Báhu, Jaya Báhu, the 16 year old grandson of Parákrama Báhu VI., was proclaimed King, but his reign was of short duration, lasting no more than a year, probably only a few months. The *Rájávaliya*‡ says: “ The news of Vira Parákrama Báhu’s accession to the throne having reached Yápápatuna, Prince Sénánáyaka Sapumal set out from Yápápatuna, accompanied by the army and leading men who defended the city, entered the city of Kótté, slew King Vira Parákrama Báhu and ascended the throne under the title of Sri Bhuvaneka Báhu.”

BHUVANEKA BÁHU VI.

A.B. 2011-2034 }
A.B. 2104-2127 } A.D. 1528-1551.

No. 169. I have already stated the most likely explanation in regard to Mexia’s letter of December 30, 1528. Though “ at the coronation festival of Bhuvaneka Báhu

* *Id.*, p. 58.

† *Id.*, pp. 66-7.

‡ P. 70.

his two brother princes (Máýádunne or Ambuḷugala Kudá Kumárayá and Rayigam Bandára) were present,"* trouble was fomented almost immediately, for they "raised disturbances in the territory which belonged to Bhuvaneka Báhu, paying no heed to the latter being their elder brother. As Bhuvaneka Báhu had no means of opposing them successfully, believing that in all Dambadiva there was no power equal to the Portuguese"† (who, by the way, were bound by agreement to assist him against all enemies), he appealed to them for help. Help was forthwith sent, and, for the next 8 years, i.e., up to 1536 A.D., there was peace between the brothers, the aggressive Máýádunne (Ambuḷugala Kumárayá) being, apparently, reconciled to governing the principality of Sitáwaka and nurturing his ambitions in secret till the moment was seasonable for striking a decisive blow.

As a matter of fact, the relations between the three brothers at this time were so good that, in 1535, Bhuvaneka Báhu entrusted to Máýádunne the task of suppressing an insurrection which "one Srivardhana Patirájá of Kelanidola in Pasdun Kóralé, in concert with Kurágama Himi" had raised "amongst the Siṅhalese from beyond the Kalu-ganga as far as Walawé-oya."‡ This was the insurrection which interfered with the movements of Rámadúta and the other *théras* from Rámaññadésa,§ who had arrived in the Island

* *Rājāvaliya*, p. 77.

† *Id.*

‡ *Id.* p. 70.

§ *Kalyāni Inscriptions*: "Meanwhile, the ship in which Rámadúta embarked, missed the route to Anurádhapura, and, meeting with adverse winds, performed a difficult voyage; and it was not till Sunday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Chitra, that she reached *Valligáma*. Now, at *Valligáma* resided a *Sihala minister*, called *Garavi*, who had rebelled against the King. At the time of the arrival of the ship, the younger brother of the King of *Sihaladipa* had proceeded by ship to the same village, accompanied by many other ships conveying armed men, in order to fight the rebel minister. The latter was stricken with terror, and, being unable to defend himself, fled the village and sought refuge in a forest. The village having fallen into his hands, the King's brother took up his residence there. The soldiers of the rebel minister remained in hiding at various places between *Valligáma* and *Jayavaddhana*—

just at this time, not only “to worship the tooth-relic and the sixteen holy places (*Solosmasthanā*),”* but also “after selecting out of the fraternity, whose members are the spiritual successors of the priests of the Mahāvihāra, a Chapter, who are pure and free from censure and reproach, receive at their hands the *Upasampadā* ordination in the *Udakukkhēpasimā* consecrated on the Kalyāni River, where the Fully Enlightened One enjoyed a bath.”†

In the meanwhile, however, Bhuvaneka Báhu, who had taken to wife “a princess from the royal family of Gampola in the hill-country, and had a daughter by her”‡ named *Chandravati*,§ made arrangements to give the latter in marriage to “his nephew Vīdiye Bandāra,”|| elder son of his sister Samudrá Dévi, who had espoused a Soli Prince. The marriage took place probably in 1536 and was the “signal for the recrudescence of hostilities.” For “Máya-

nagara, and were a source of danger to the people who passed by that way. Owing to this circumstance, the King's brother withheld permission from the *thēras* and Rāmadūta, who were desirous of going to Jayavaddhananagara. However, on the 2nd day of the dark half of the first of the two months of Asalha, 838 Sakkarāj, permission was obtained and the *thēras* and Rāmadūta left Valligāma. After passing five days on the journey, they arrived at Jayavaddhananagara on the 8th day.” *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII., 1893, p. 42. (*Vide* also Appendix.)

* “In the 7th year of the reign of Bhuvaneka Báhu the Chief Priest Dharmmānanda, of Kanchipura in India, accompanied by 20 other priests, landed in Śrī Lanḱā with offerings of great value, intending to worship the tooth-relic and the sixteen holy places (*Solosmasthanā*); and, reaching Máya-rājaya, resided there and caused the breaches in the viháres that were abandoned and ruined to be repaired. One of the priests built a pillared Vihāre in the place called *Nāgavanārāmaya* in *Sailagarbha Janapada* (Galboḍa Pattuwa) and planted coconuts and flower gardens. Further, he built houses for the priests to live in, and with the aid of the King who was then reigning, and with the assistance of the pious and religious men of the village, obtained the dedication of 7 amunams of paddy land to the said viháre. Subsequently several generations of priests possessed it. Afterwards the above viháre was abandoned for want of (the support of) pious and religious men.” *Kadigomuwa Ola MS.*, *Vide* “Kégalla Report,” p. 41.

† Kalyāni Inscriptions, *Vide* Appendix.

‡ *Rājāvaliya*, p. 77.

§ C. B. R. A. S. Journal for 1905, Paper on “Two Old Sinhalese Swords.”

|| *Rājāvaliya*, p. 77.

dunne, whose hopes of succeeding to his brother's throne had been strong so long as the legal heir was an unmarried girl, now saw that the realisation of his wishes depended on the strength of his arm, and his army was soon on the field again, attacking the frontier towns.* The rest of the events of Bhuvaneka Báhu's reign is too well known to need recapitulation here. After a reign of 23 years he died in the month of June or July, 1551.†

The last trace, so far as I can find, of the use of the era reckoned from 483 B.C. is to be found in the *Budugunálankáraya*, which is stated therein to have been composed in the 3rd year of Bhuvaneka Báhu, 2015 years after the death of Buddha :-

සමනස්	මුතියු	පිරිනිව්	වස	පටන්	ල	ද
දෙදහස්	පසළොස්	අවුරුදු	ගෙවුන	ස		ද
දියගොස්	පතල	බුවනෙක	බුර	නිරිඳු	ස	ද
පි රි ව ස්	තුනෙහි	සිරිලක	රජ	බිසෙව්	ල	ද

My date for the 3rd year of Bhuvaneka Báhu is 2014 A.B. The discrepancy of one year may be adjusted later with fuller knowledge.

A.B. 2011 } A.D. 1528—Accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.
A.B. 2104 } Insurrection by Wirasuriya *alias*
Pilasse Vidiye Bandára and
Manamperi Arachchi crushed by
Máýádunne. ‡

A.B. 2014 } A.D. 1531—*Budugunálankáraya* written, 3rd
A.B. 2107 } year of Bhuvaneka Báhu.

A.B. 2017 } A.D. 1534—Weligama Viháre inscription, § 6th
A.B. 2110 } year.

A.B. 2028 } A.D. 1535—Insurrection by Srivardhana Pati-
A.B. 2111 } rájá and Kurágama Himi sup-
pressed by Máýádunne. ||

—Arrival of Rámadúta and other
théras of Rámaññadésa. ¶

* Mr. Pieris' *The Portuguese Era*, p. 76.

† De Couto, Dec. VI., Bk. IX, Ch. XVI.; C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XX., No. 60, pp. 147-148.

‡ *Rájávaliya*, pp. 76-77.

§ C. B. R. A. S. Journal, 1870-71, pp. 21-4.

|| *Rájávaliya*, p. 70.

¶ *Kadigomuwa Ola Ms.*; Kalyáni Inscriptions, *vide* Appendix.

- Bhuvaneka Báhu* directs “ the construction of a Bridge of Boats on the Kalyáni (Kēlani) River ” and the erection of “ a tower and a canopy of cloth ” on the bridge.
- Vidágama Mahá Théra* is requested by the King to elect, from the Mahāvihára fraternity, “ a Chapter of 24 priests such as *Dhammakitti Mahá Théra*, *Vanaratana Mahá Théra* (ex-Mahá Sangha Rájá), *Panchaparivēna-vāsi-mangalathéra* and *Sihalarájayuvārājachariyathéra*.”
- Bhuvaneka Báhu* invites “ the 24 ordaining priests, headed by *Dhammakitti Mahá Théra*,” has them “ conducted to the Bridge of Boats and the 44 priests of Rámaññadésa ordained by them.”
- Vanaratana Mahá Théra* (ex-Mahá Sangha Rájá) presents the priests from Rámaññadésa with yellow robes and accepts their profession of faith in the *Three Refuges*.
- Suvannasóbhana Théra* (who afterwards filled the office of *upajjháya* in Rámaññadésa) receives his *upasampadá* ordination at the hands of the above Chapter “ with *Vanaratana Mahá Théra*, ex-Mahá Sangha-rájá, as *upajjháya* and with *Vijayabáhu-Sangha-rájá*, who was formerly known as *Rahulabhadda Théra*, as *kammavachachariya*.”*
- A.B. 2019 } A.D. 1536—Marriage of Princess Chandravati
A.B. 2112 } with Vidiye Baṇḍára.
- A.B. 2020 } A.D. 1537—Reerudescence of hostilities between
A.B. 2113 } *Bhuvaneka Báhu* and *Máyá-dunne*.
- Dedigama inscription,† 9th year of *Bhuvaneka Báhu*.
- A.B. 2034 } A.D. 1551—Death of *Bhuvaneka Báhu VI*.
A.B. 2127 } —Accession of Don Juan Dharmapála.

* Kalyáni Inscriptions, *vide* Appendix.

† Kégalla Report, pp. 84-85.

I have already pointed out that, when the new era reckoned from 544 or 543 B.C. began to be observed in the time of Parākrama Báhu VI., 93 years were added to the existing *Buddha warsha* instead of 61, resulting in an error of 32 years in excess. It now remains for me to prove that this error of 32 years in excess was rectified not long after, and probably in the following manner:

When, by command of the King, the latter portion of the *Mahávaṃsa* was being brought up to date in the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha (1747-1780 A.D.), the author (Tibbotuvāwa) must have had evidence before him showing that the death of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. and the accession of Don Juan Dharmapāla took place in 1551 A.D. Now, since the tradition current in his time, as it is now, was that the Buddha died in 543 B.C., he evidently concluded that the *Buddha warsha* corresponding to 1551 A.D. was 2094 (1551+543), not 2127, which represents the excess of 32 years referred to above. Similarly, he knew that Māyādunne died in 1581 A.D. and was succeeded by Rāja Siṃha in the same year, and, according to his calculation, the *Buddha warsha* corresponding to 1581 A.D. was 2124 (1581+543). Further, he knew that Rāja Siṃha, after a reign of only 11 years, died in 1592 A.D., and was succeeded by Vimala Dharma Śūriya in the same year, which would make the death of the former and the accession of the latter fall in 2135 A.B. (2124+11). Accordingly, he wrote: "And after the death of him who had killed his father (Rāja Siṃha) in the 2135th year after the *Nibbāna* of the Sage, this faithful, virtuous, and powerful king ascended the throne in the city of Sirivaddhana with the name of Vimala Dhamma Śūriya."*

* *Mahávaṃsa*, ch. 94, vv. 5-7.—That the adjustment was made in the manner described above is to some extent evident from the following extract from the Dambulla Vihāre Tudupat (Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pp. 124—127):—"King Vimala Dhamma Śūriya having come to the throne in the year of Buddha 2115, restored Buddhism and caused an ordination of priests to be held." This *Tudupat* was written in 1726 A.D. (A.B. 2269, Śaka 1648) in the

The adjustment of the 32 years in excess being thus accounted for, there is no further difficulty in regard to the dates. Subsequent instances of the use of the reckoning (having as point of departure 543 B.C.) in the *Mahávaṇsa* are in Ch. 94, vv. 19, 20, the year 2140; in Ch. 99, verse 2, the year 2290; in Ch. 100, vv. 60, 61, the year 2293; in Ch. 100, verse 92, the year 2299; and in Ch. 100, verse 286, the year 2301. All these dates are worked out on the hypothesis that the Buddha died in 543 B.C., and each represents a difference of "about sixty years" from the old tradition, which prevailed and was observed in Ceylon up to the close of the 15th century, that the Buddha died in 483 B.C.

There is no need to burden this paper with further proofs of the correctness of my theory, that the era reckoned from 483 B.C. existed and was adopted in Ceylon up to the close of the 15th century, together with all that it implies. I venture to think I have urged enough to make out a strong case for accepting my conclusions as correct. It will be time enough to urge more—and I have by no means exhausted the proofs available—when those already elaborated in this paper are demonstrated to be wrong or untenable.

I might, however, mention one more curious fact at least as a matter of extreme significance, viz., the absence, granted that my explanation is right in regard to the Kēlaniya and Dondra inscriptions, the absence of any form of lithic record or *Sannasa*, *tudupat* or *sittu*, either of Pandita Parākrama Báhu VII. or Vira Parākrama Báhu VIII., or Dharma Parākrama Báhu IX. or Vijaya Báhu VII. or Bhuṇaneka Báhu VII., the very "sovereigns" who, according to my theory, never lived or ruled at all.

reign of Śrī Vira Parākrama Naréन्द्रa Siṅha, i.e., about 25 or 30 years before Tibbotuváwa took the *Mahávaṇsa* in hand, and its writer obviously had not the material with which the latter worked out his dates. That may account for the discrepancy of ten years between the *Mahávaṇsa* and the *Tudupat* date for the accession of Vimala Dharma Súriya I.

The absence of any such record is all the more significant since these "sovereigns" are supposed to have reigned so comparatively recently and each for a "score" of years more or less, and since we have some form of record, lithic or otherwise, of *every sovereign* preceding them on the Sinhalese throne up to Parákrama Báhu III., covering a period of over 200 years, and of *every sovereign* succeeding them up to Śrī Vikrama Rāja Siṅha, the last king, covering a period of, roughly, 250 years. Of Dharma Parákrama Báhu the *Rājāvaliya* is the only Sinhalese chronicle to make mention, and the *Rājāvaliya* is, by general consensus of opinion, a very unreliable guide of *itself*. The *Mahāvamsa*—this portion of which was not written till the middle of the 18th century—ignores Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. entirely and dismisses the other four kings above-mentioned almost in as many lines!

All these considerations, together with the various facts I have stated in detail, make it difficult to conclude otherwise than

(1) that Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu VII., Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII., Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX., Vijaya Báhu VII. and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. never reigned as independent sovereigns even if they lived, which is highly improbable;

(2) that the Portuguese arrived in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI;

(3) that Sapumal Kumárayá, who became king as Bhuvaneka Báhu VI., was the father of Don Juan Dharmapála;

(4) that Ambuḷugala Kudá Kumárayá and Màyádunne were one and the same individual;

(5) that the Bhuvaneka Báhu of the Tamil invasion was Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., not the V.;

(6) that the Vijaya Báhu of the Chinese captivity was the 5th and not the 6th of that name; and

(7) that up to the close of the 15th century the era current in Ceylon was reckoned from 483 B.C., which was the date for the *Parinibbána* of the Buddha.

It is right, however, to say here, that the dates of the Kalyáni inscriptions, which I have not had the opportunity to study as closely as I have studied the Ceylon ones, present difficulties which may or may not prove eventually to be surmountable. Whatever the result, I am free to confess that I am not so unreasonably wedded to my theories as to believe that all the world is wrong and I alone am right. I have stated a possible view of Ceylon History never before held in Ceylon and I have, I venture to think, urged good and quite sufficient argument to "prove my case." I am content to leave the "decision" to those among us whose deep and profound knowledge of the history of this country entitles them to speak with authority.

I should like to add just one or two words in conclusion, and that is, to make my acknowledgments, primarily, to Mr. H. C. P. Bell (retired Archæological Commissioner), the most tireless and indefatigable worker to-day, even in his retirement, in the field of Ceylon history. But for his *Kégalla Report* (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892), which is a veritable mine of rare information, valuable as much to the curious student as to the scholar and expert, and his extremely useful Memoranda and Notes in the Journal of this Society for 1912, the present paper might not have been written. I have also derived very valuable assistance from Mr. H. W. Codrington, C. C. S., and from Mr. Paul E. Pieris' latest and, in many respects, authoritative contribution to Ceylon History, his *The Portuguese Era* which, so far as I am competent to judge, represents the "last word" about the Portuguese period; as also from Mr. E. W. Perera's generally excellent papers "Alakéṣvara: his life and times," and "The Age of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI." published in the Journal of this Society. No little help has also been derived from long and frequent discussions of knotty points with Gate Mudaliyár Simon de Silva, the Chief Siṅhalese Translator to Government.

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

APPENDIX.

THE KALYĀNI INSCRIPTIONS.

REFERENCES TO CEYLON HISTORY AND THE
BUDDHIST RELIGION.

[The Kalyāni Inscriptions, which are published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII., 1893, are meant to prove the "apostolic succession" of the Buddhist priesthood of Burma, and give a good deal of valuable information as to the geography of the period. Many positive current dates are also given, with references to Sinhalese and Burmese history. Dhammachēti, or Rāmādhīpati, King of Pegu, who erected these inscriptions early in the sixteenth century, was an ex-priest, who, in emulation of Asōka, Sirisanghabōdhi Parākramabāhu, and other Buddhist kings of old, made the purity of Buddhism one of the objects of his earnest solicitude. The main object in founding the Kalyāni-simā appears to have been to afford to the Priesthood of Rāmānādēsa a duly consecrated place for the purposes of performing the *upōsatha*, *upasampadā* and other ecclesiastical ceremonies, and indirectly to secure continuity in their apostolic succession from Mahinda, the Buddhist apostle to Ceylon. The Kalyāni-simā derives its name from the fact that it was consecrated by the Talaing priests, who had received afresh their *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of the Mahāvihāra fraternity, the spiritual successors of Mahinda, on the Kelani River near Colombo. The inscriptions are situated at Zainganaing, the Western suburb of the town of Pegu. They comprise ten stone slabs covered with inscriptions on both sides. The language of the first three stones is Pāli, and that of the rest is Talaing, being a translation of the Pāli text.]

REFERENCES TO SĪNHALESE HISTORY.

"In 1601, Anno Buddhæ, and 419, Sakkaraj, King Anuruddha, the Lord of Arimaddanapura, took a community of priests together with the *Tīpitaka* (from Rāmaññadēsa) and established the religion in Arimaddanapura, otherwise called Pūgama.

"One hundred and seven years after this event or in the year 526, Sakkaraj, King Sirisanghabōdhi-Parākkamabāhu purified the Religion in Lanḱādīpa.....

"Uttarajivamahāthēra embarked in a ship and set out for Lanḱādīpa. On his arrival there, the *Mahāthēras*, residing in Lanḱādīpa, came together in a body and accorded him a meet reception. As they were well disposed towards him they said: 'We are the spiritual successors of Mahamahindathēra, who established the Religion in Lanḱādīpa, while you and the other

priests in your company are the spiritual successors of the two *Maháthéras*, called *Sóna* and *Uttara*, who established the Religion in *Suvannabhúmi*. Let us all, therefore, perform together the ceremonies incumbent upon the Order.' Having spoken thus, they performed the *upasampadá* ordination on *Chhápata*, the twenty-year old *sámanéra*. After this, *Uttarajivamaháthéra*, having accomplished the object of his visit, namely, the worshipping, &c., at the shrines in *Laṅkádipa*, made preparations to return to *Págama*. *Chhápata* asked permission from *Uttarajivamaháthéra* and remained behind in *Laṅkádipa*.

. [*Chhápata*] appointed *Sivalithéra*, a native of *Támalitthi*, *Támalindathéra*, the son of the *Rájá* of *Kambója*, *Anandathéra*, a native of *Kinchipura*, and *Rahulathéra*, a native of *Laṅkádipa*, to accompany him, and, embarking in a ship, returned to his native country. These five *Maháthéras* were well versed in the *Tipitaka* and were learned and able; and, among them, *Rahulathéra* was the most learned.

"At that time, a king, called *Narapatijayasúra*, was ruling in *Págama*. One day the king ordered festivals to be held in honour of the occasion of his giving a great offering to the five *Maháthéras*. On that occasion, *Rahulathéra* saw a beautiful dancing-girl, and the loss of his delight in asceticism became burdensome to him. He longed to be a layman, and made preparations to carry out his object. *Chhápatamaháthéra* and the three other *Maháthéras* repeatedly expounded religious discourses to him, and, in a body, entreated him to turn away from the course he had resolved to take. But the religious discourses expounded by the four *Maháthéras* by way of admonition, were of no avail in turning his mind. They, therefore, said: 'Brother, we have expounded to you various religious discourses by way of admonition, and yet we have not been able to turn you away from your object. Such being the case, do you forbear to become a layman here, but go to *Rámaññadésa*, and there embark for *Malayádipa*, where you may carry out your wish.' Being repeatedly urged to adopt this course, he went to *Rámaññadésa*, and thence by ship to *Malayádipa*.

"Now, the King of *Malayádipa* was desirous of learning the *Vinaya*, and *Rahulathéra* taught him the *Khuddasikkha* together with its commentary, and instructed him in the meaning of the text of the whole of the *Vinaya*. The king was pleased with the *théra*, and presented him with an alms-bowl filled with many kinds of gems. *Rahulathéra* accepted the gift, became a layman and married.

"In the 2002nd year that had elapsed since the *Parinirvána* of the fully Enlightened One, and the 820th year of *Sakkaráj*, there reigned in *Hamsavatinágara*, *Rámádhīpati*, who, assuming the title of *Siripavaramahádhāmmarājādhīrājā*, ruled justly and righteously and afforded protection to the people of *Rámaññadésa*.

"The following were the thoughts that arose in the mind of King *Rámádhīpati*, who considered about the condition of the Religion :—

'It is said that, in the 236th year that had elapsed since the attainment of *Parinirvāna* by the fully Enlightened One, *Mahamahānāthā*, who was sent by *Mogallānputtā* to *Tambapannidīpa*, and established the Religion. *Dēvānampiyatissa*, King of *Sīhaladīpa*, conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the *thēra*, and founded the *Mahāvihāra* monastery. During the period of 218 years, that elapsed since the foundation of *Mahāvihāra*, the Religion remained pure, and there was only one fraternity, namely, that of the residents of the *Mahāvihāra*. Then King *Vattagāmaṇi-Abhaya* conquered *Dādhiya*, King of the *Dāmilas*, and attained to kingship in *Laṅkādīpa*. After founding the *Abhayagīrivihāra* monastery, this King was defeated by a confederacy of seven *Dāmila* princes, and was obliged to fly from the country and remain in hiding for 14 years. (On his restoration) he invited a *thēra*, called *Mahātissa*, who had afforded him assistance during his exile, and presented the monastery to him. This *Mahātissathēra*, however, used to associate with lay people, and, for this very offence, had been expelled from the *Mahāvihāra* by the fraternity of that monastery. Thenceforward, the priests were divided into two sects, that of the residents of the *Mahāvihāra* and that of the residents of the *Abhayagīrivihāra*.

'In the 357th year that had elapsed since the foundation of the *Abhayagīrivihāra* monastery, a king, called *Mahāsēna*, ruled over *Laṅkādīpa* for 27 years. This king, in the course of his reign, founded the *Jétavanāvihāra* monastery, and presented it to *Tissathēra*, a resident of the *Dakkhīnavihāra*, who associated with wicked people, and was of an intriguing and licentious character, but for whom he conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence. Thenceforward, the priests of the *Jétavanāvihāra* monastery detached themselves from those of the *Mahāvihāra* and the *Abhayagīrivihāra* monasteries, and thus arose the (third) sect of the residents of the *Jétavanāvihāra* monastery.

'Thus, 600 years had not yet elapsed since the establishment of the Religion in *Laṅkādīpa*, when the priests in that Island were divided into three divisions, and three sects were formed. Among these sects, that of the *Mahāvihāra* was extremely pure and orthodox; but the remaining two were neither pure nor orthodox. In course of time, however, in *Laṅkādīpa*, the number of orthodox priests gradually decreased, and their sect became weak while the unorthodox priests continually received fresh accession of strength owing to increased numbers. These heretical sects did not conform to the rules of the Order, and were followers of evil practices. Owing to this circumstance, the Religion became impure, and tainted with heresy and corruption.

'In the 1472nd year that had elapsed since the establishment of the Religion in *Laṅkādīpa*, the 1708th year that had elapsed since the attainment of *Parinirvāna* by the Master, and the 18th year since the inauguration of *Mahārājā Sirisanghabōdhi-Parākkamabāhu* as ruler of *Laṅkādīpa*, that king, by seeing the priests, who, though professing the Religion, did not

conform to the rules of the Order and followed evil practices, became aware of the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption that had arisen in the Religion, and he thought thus:—

‘ If such an one as I, knowing the existence of the impurity, heresy and corruption, that have arisen in the Religion, do not exert myself and remain indifferent in the matter of effecting its purification, it will be said of me that my love for, or faith in, the fully Enlightened One, and my respect and reverence for Him, are not intense. It is perhaps expedient that *I should afford support to the Mahāvihāra fraternity, who are orthodox, whose conduct is in conformity with the rules of the Order, and whose superior is Mahākassapathēra of Udumbarāgiri; and that, as Asoka, King of Righteousness, with the assistance of Moggaliputtatissamahāthēra, afforded support to the great fraternity of exceedingly pure and orthodox priests, who declared that the fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavādi, and effected the purification of the Religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the 60,000 impure and sinful priests who declared that the fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, even so should I purify the Religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the large number of impure, unorthodox, and sinful priests, who do not conform to the rules of the Order and are followers of evil practices, and by constituting the fraternity of the residents of the Mahāvihāra, the only sect (in my kingdom).*’

‘ The King acted accordingly, purified the religion, and caused a covenant to be entered into by the priests. In after times, with a view to purifying the Religion, *Vijayabāhurāja and Parākkamabāhurāja* caused (similar) covenants to be made.

‘ *From that time up to the present day, there has been existing in Laṅkādīpa, a sect of priests, who are the spiritual successors of the fraternity of the Mahāvihāra, the exceedingly pure and orthodox sect, whose members conformed, in a proper manner, to the rules of the Order.*

‘ *I (Rāmādhipati) shall, therefore, invite in a respectful manner, learned and qualified priests to receive the extremely pure form of the upasampadā ordination in Laṅkādīpa and to establish it in this country of Rāmānadésa. By inducing men of good family, who have faith, and are desirous of taking orders, to receive it and by thus calling into existence the pure form of the upasampadā ordination, the Religion will become purified and free from impurity, and will last to the end of the period of 5000 years.*’

“ *Accordingly King Rāmādhipati invited the 22 thēras, headed by Moggalāna, and addressed them thus: ‘ Reverend Sirs, the Upasampadā ordination of the priests in Rāmānadésa now appears to us to be invalid. Therefore, how can the Religion, which is based on such invalid ordination, last to*

the end of 5000 years? Reverend Sirs, from the establishment of the Religion in Sihladipa up to the present day, there has been existing in that Island an exceedingly pure sect of priests, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery. If, Reverend Sirs, *you go to Sihladipa*, and, after selecting out of the fraternity whose members are the spiritual successors of the priests of the Mahāvihāra, a Chapter, who are pure and free from censure and reproach, *receive at their hands the upasampadā ordination in the udakkhépasiṃā consecrated on the Kalyāṇī River where the Fully Enlightened One enjoyed a bath*; and, if you make this form of the *upasampadā* ordination the seed of the Religion as it were, plant it and cause it to sprout forth by conferring such ordination on men of good family in this country of Rāmanadēsa, who have faith and are desirous of taking orders, the Religion will become pure and last till the end of 5000 years.

‘Reverend Sirs, by your going to Sihladipa, much merit and great advantages will accrue to you. Reverend Sirs, on your arrival in Sihladipa, an opportunity will be afforded you of adoring and making offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic, to the Bódhi-trees, headed by the one which was the Southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayá) to the Ratanachétiya and other shrines, and to the Chétiya of the Holy Footprint of the Blessed One on the top of the Samantakūta Hill. Therefore, Reverend Sirs, your great accumulation of merit will increase. For the reasons stated above, I beseech of you the favour of going to Sihladipa.’

“To this the *théras* replied: ‘Mahārāja, your excellent request is, indeed, in conformity with the law, because it is actuated by a desire to promote the interests of the Religion. The visit to Sihladipa will increase our great accumulation of merit. We, therefore, grant you the favour, and will visit Sihladipa.’ Saying thus, the *théras* gave a promise.

“On receiving the reply of the *théras*, the King directed the preparation of the following articles to serve as offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic:—a stone alms-bowl, embellished with sapphires of great value, and having for its cover a pyramidal covering made of gold weighing 50 *phalas*; an alms-bowl, with a stand and cover complete, made of gold weighing 60 *phalas*; a golden vase weighing 30 *phalas*; a duodecagonal betel-box made of gold weighing 30 *phalas*; a golden relic-receptacle weighing 33 *phalas*, and constructed in the shape of a *chétiya*; a relic-receptacle made of crystal; a relic-receptacle, embellished with pieces of glass resembling *Masāragalla* gems; and golden flowers.

“For the purpose of offering to the Ratanachétiya and other shrines, to the Holy Footprint, and to the 22 Bódhi trees, the following articles were prepared:—85 canopies of various colours; 50 large, gilt, waxen candles; and the same number of small, gilt, waxen candles.

“ For presenting to the *Maháthéras* of Sihladipa the following articles were prepared:—40 boxes containing cotton cloth of delicate texture; 20 silk and cotton upper robes of various colours, namely, red, yellow, motley, and white; 20 betel-boxes of motley colour, *manufactured in Haribhunja*; four stone pitchers; eight painted pitchers *manufactured in Chinadésa*; and 20 fans manufactured in Chinadésa.

“ Rámádhīpatirájá, the Lord of Rámānnadésa and of the White Elephant, sent respectful greeting to their Reverences the *Maháthéras* of Sihladipa, and thus addressed them by letter:—

‘ Reverend Sirs, for the purpose of adoring the Holy Tooth and Relics I have sent priests with offerings. Vouchsafe to afford them assistance in making such offerings. With the 22 *théras* and their disciples, I have sent Chitradúta and Rámadúta together with their attendants. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, to afford them such assistance as they may require in seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic and making offerings to it. After seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it, the 22 *théras* and their disciples will proceed to elect from among the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the *Mahāvihāra* monastery, a Chapter of priests, who are free from censure and reproach, and will receive at their hands the *upasampadá* ordination in the *Udakukkhépasimá* consecrated on the Kalyáni River, where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath. May it please the Venerable Ones to afford them assistance also in this matter?’ Thus was prepared a letter addressed to the *Maháthéras* of Sihladipa.

“ The following articles were prepared for presentation to Bhuvanekabáhu, King of Sihladipa:—two sapphires valued at 200 *phalas* of silver; two rubies valued at 430 *phalas*; four pieces of variegated China cloth, of great value, for making long mantles, which would cover the wearer from neck to foot; three pieces of thick embroidered China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; two pieces of plain, thick, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; one piece of plain, white, thick, China cloth; two pieces of green, thick, embroidered, China cloth; one piece of plain, green, thick, China cloth; two pieces of plain, black, China cloth; one piece of yellow, thick, embroidered, China cloth; one piece of red, thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture; one piece of thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture, and of white and dark blue, or ash colour; in all, 20 pieces of China cloth; the same number of variegated silk cloths called *pavitti*, and 200 mats wrapped up in leather cases. The letter addressed to Bhuvanekabáhu, King of Sihladipa, was in import similar to that addressed to the *Maháthéras* of that Island, and was inscribed on a tablet of gold.

“ Having thus prepared everything that was necessary, the King presented the 22 *théras* with the following articles:—

44 boxes of fine cotton cloth for making the *tichivara* robes; 22 carpets made of the wool of Marammadésa; 22 variegated leathern rugs; 22 variegated Haribhunja betel-boxes, with covers; and many other articles required for food and for medicinal purposes on the voyage.

“The 22 priests who were the disciples of the *théras*, were each presented with a piece of cloth called *katiputta*, and a thick, embroidered carpet manufactured in Marammadésa.

“*The 22 théras and their disciples were consigned to the care of the two emissaries, Chitradúta and Rámadúta, into whose hands were likewise delivered the above mentioned offerings intended for the Holy Relics, the letter and presents for the Maháthéras of Sihalahadipa, and the letter inscribed on a tablet of gold and presents for Bhuvanekabáhu, King of that Island. Two hundred phalas of gold were given to the emissaries for the purpose of providing the 22 théras and their disciples with the four requisites, should any mishap, such as scarcity of food, arise. The eleven théras, headed by Moggalánathéra together with their disciples, were embarked in the same ship as Rámadúta; while the remaining eleven théras, headed by Mahasiválithéra, together with their disciples, were embarked in the same ship as Chitradúta.*

“The ship in which Rámadúta embarked, left the mouth of the Yoga River on Sunday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month Magha, 837, Sakkaraj, and went out to sea.

“The ship, in which Chitradúta embarked, however, left the mouth of the same river on Monday, the 12th day of the dark half of the same month, and going out to sea, reached, through skilful navigation, the port of Kalambu on the 8th day of the dark half of the month Phagguna.

“When Bhuvanekabáhu, King of Sihalahadipa, heard the news (of the arrival of the ship), he, on the new-moon *upósatha* day of the month Phagguna, directed that a welcome be accorded to the 11 *théras* and Chitradúta. He was exceedingly delighted when he had heard the letter read out, which was inscribed on a tablet of gold, and brought by Chitradúta, and which was sent by Rámádhīpatimahārājá, who was replete with faith and many other good qualities and who, being a descendant of Lords of White Elephants, was himself Lord of a White Elephant, which was possessed of all the characteristics (of such animals), and whose colour was very much whiter than that of a conch-shell, the *jasminum multiflorum*, the white lily, or the autumnal moon. The King (of Sihalahadipa) having exchanged the compliments of friendship and civility with the *théras* and Chitradúta, arose from his seat, and with his own hands, offered them betel-leaf with camphor. He likewise had arrangements made for the entertainment of the *théras* and Chitradúta.

“On the following day Chitradúta delivered to the Maháthéras of Sihalahadipa the letter and the presents sent by

Rámádhīpatimahārājā; and the *Mahāthēras*, saying: 'Whatsoever is pleasing to Rámádhīpatimahārājā, that will we perform,' gave a promise.

"The 11 *thēras*, who embarked in the same ship as Chitrādūta, perceiving the non-arrival of their brethren, who embarked in the same ship as Rámādūta, reflected: 'With the permission of the King of Sihala-dīpa, we shall remain in the Island of Laṅkā-dīpa awaiting the arrival of these *thēras*'. They accordingly asked permission from the King and remained there awaiting the arrival of the *thēras*, who embarked in the same ship as Rámādūta.

"Meanwhile, the ship in which Rámādūta embarked missed the route to Anurādhapura, and, meeting with adverse winds, performed a difficult voyage; and it was not till Sunday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Chitra, that she reached Valligāma.

"Now at Valligāma, resided a Sihala minister, called Garavi, who had rebelled against the King. At the time of the arrival of the ship, the younger brother of the King of Sihala-dīpa had proceeded by ship to the same village, accompanied by many other ships conveying armed men, in order to fight the rebel minister. The latter was stricken with terror and, being unable to defend himself, fled the village and sought refuge in a forest. The village having fallen into his hands, the King's brother took up his residence there. The soldiers of the rebel minister remained in hiding at various places between Valligāma and Jayavaddhanagara, and were a source of danger to the people who passed by that way. Owing to this circumstance the King's brother withheld permission from the *thēras* and Rámādūta, who were desirous of going to Jayavaddhanagara. However, on the 2nd day of the dark half of the first of the two months of Asalha, 838 Sakkaraj, permission was obtained and the *thēras* and Rámādūta left Valligāma. After passing five days on the journey, they arrived at Jayavaddhanagara on the 8th day.

"When Bhūvanekabāhu, King of Sihala-dīpa, heard about the arrival of the *thēras* and Rámādūta, he directed that a welcome be accorded to them. After he had heard read out the letter of Rámádhīpatimahārājā, inscribed on a tablet of gold, which was brought by Rámādūta, he was delighted, and, in the manner indicated above, exchanged with the *thēras* and Rámādūta the compliments of friendship and civility, and had arrangements made for their entertainment.

"On the following day, Rámādūta delivered to the *Mahāthēras* of Sihala-dīpa the letter and presents sent by the King, who was Lord of Hamsavatinagara; and all the *Mahāthēras* gave a promise to Rámādūta similar to that given by them to Chitrādūta.

"After a month had elapsed from that date, the *thēras* who embarked in the same ship as Chitrādūta, visited Anurādhapura, and adored the Ratanachētiya, Marichivattichētiya,

Thúpáramachétiya, Abhayagirichétiya, Siláchétiya, Jétavanáchétiya and the Mahábódhi tree, which was the Southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayà), and saw the Lóhapàsàda. They likewise, to the extent of their ability, removed grass, creepers, and shrubbery found growing in the court-yards of the various Chétiyas, and cleaned their walls. After fulfilling such religious duties as were performed subsequent to making offerings, they returned and arrived at Jayavaddhananagara.

“ The Sihala King now thought that the time had arrived for him to exhibit the Holy Tooth Relic for the adoration of all the *théras*, who had come by the two ships. *On Sunday, the first day of the dark half of the second month Asalha, and the day on which rassa residence was entered upon*, he had the whole of the tower containing the receptacle of the Holy Tooth Relic decorated, had a canopy of cloth put up, and had an offering made of scents, lights, incense, and flowers. The *Maháthéras* of Sihaladipa were set apart on one side, while the 22 *théras* and their disciples, who had come by the two ships, together with Chitradúta and Rámadúta, were invited to be present. The Holy Tooth Relic, contained in a golden receptacle, was brought out in order that the 22 *théras*, and Chitradúta and Rámadúta might see and adore it, and make offerings to it. Then the Sihala king, calling to mind the letter of Rámádhipatirájá, had the Holy Tooth Relic deposited in the golden relic-receptacle sent by the latter, and had a white umbrella placed over it. The golden vessel containing the Relic, the golden vase, and the golden duodecagonal betel-box were deposited together, and shown to the 22 *théras*, and Chitradúta and Rámadúta.

“ ‘ Reverend Sirs, and Chitradúta and Rámadúta, may it please you to let me know the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant?’ asked the Sihala King, who, saying to himself: ‘ Whatsoever may be the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant, I shall act accordingly,’ issued commands to the Sihala ministers, and directed the construction of a bridge of boats on the Kalyáni River, where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath. A tower and a canopy of cloth were erected on the bridge, and various kinds of hanging awnings were likewise put up. *Vidágama Mahá Théra* was requested to elect from among the fraternity of priests, who were the spiritual successors of the residents of the Máhavihára monastery, a Chapter who were free from censure and reproach; and he accordingly elected a Chapter of twenty-four priests such as *Dhammakittimaháthéra*, *Vanaratanamaháthéra*, *Panchaparivénarásimangalathéra* and *Sihalarájáyuvarájáchariyathéra*. Having thus had a bridge of boats constructed, and a Chapter of priests elected, the king invited the 24 ordaining priests, headed by *Dhammakittimaháthéra*, on Wednesday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month of second Asalha, and had them conducted to the bridge of boats, and had the 44 priests of Rámannadésa ordained by

them. In conformity with the custom followed by the Sihala *Maháthéras* of old, whenever priests from foreign countries were ordained, the 44 priests of Rámannadésa were first established in the condition of laymen and then admitted to the Order as *sámanéras* through the act of *Vanaratana Mahá Théra*, who presented them with yellow robes, and accepted their profession of faith in the 'Three Refuges.'

"On the night of Wednesday, five *théras*, namely, *Moggalánathéra*, *Kumarakassapathéra*, *Mahásivalithéra*, *Sáriputtathéra* and *Nánasagarathéra* were ordained in the presence of the Chapter of the 24 priests, *Dhammakittimaháthéra* and *Pancha-parivénavási-Mangalathéra* being respectively the *upajjháya* and *áchariya*. On the night of Thursday, the 12th, ten *théras* were ordained, *Vanaratanamaháthéra* and *Pancha-parivénavási-Mangalathéra* being respectively the *upajjháya* and *áchariya*

"When the 22 *théras* of Rámannadésa had been ordained, the Sihala king invited them to a meal, at the end of which he presented each of them with the following articles:—three yellow robes; a curtain and a canopy manufactured in the country of *Gócharati*; a leathern mat painted in variegated colours; a fan shaped like a palmyra-fan, but made of ivory, carved by a skilful turner; and a betel-box. Then the Sihala king said:—'Reverend Sirs, you will return to Jambudipa and maintain the Religion in splendour in Hamsavatipura. If, Reverend Sirs, I present you with any other gifts, no reputation would accrue to me, because such gifts are subject to speedy decay and dissolution. Therefore, I shall now confer titles on you. If, Reverend Sirs, this is done, such titles would last throughout your lifetime.' So saying he conferred (certain titles on them).....

"The eleven *théras*, who embarked in the same ship as Rámadúta, together with the latter, left Jayavaddhananagara and returned to Valligáma. The eleven *théras*, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradúta, however, returned to Jayavaddhananagara, after adoring the Padavalanjachétiya, called the Siripáda, which is situated on the top of the Samantakúta Hill.

"The eleven *théras*, who had returned to Valligáma, embarked on Wednesday, the second day of the light half of the month Bhadda and, returning home, arrived at the mouth of the Yóga river on Thursday, the 2nd day of the dark half of the same month.

"When Rámádhīpatirájá received the tidings that the *théras*, who embarked in the same ship as Rámadúta, had arrived at the mouth of the Yóga river, he bethought himself: 'Considering that these *théras* visited Sihladipa at my solicitation, and that they are the inaugurators of the *upasampadá* ordination, it would not be proper to send any of my officials to welcome them. It would, indeed, be appropriate that I should

myself welcome them on my return from Tigumpanagara where, on the *mahāpavāraṇā* day, which falls on the full-moon day of Assayuja, I shall present the Chétiya containing the Hair Relics of the Fully Enlightened One, obtained during his life-time, with a large bell made of brass, weighing 3000 *tolas*.' Agreeably with this thought, he wrote a letter saying: 'As I am visiting Tigumpanagara, may it please the Venerable Ones to remain in that town!' And, after making arrangements for their entertainment, he had them disembarked from their sea-going vessel and conveyed to Tigumpanagara in river-boats.

"Meanwhile, the eleven *théras*, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradúta, missed the appointed time favourable for returning to Rámannadésa, because the Sihala King had said to them: 'Reverend Sirs, it is my desire to send an emissary to Rámádhīpatimahārājá, the Lord of the White Elephant, with presents, including a religious gift in the shape of an image of the Holy Tooth Relic, embellished with a topaz and a diamond valued at a 100 *phalas*, which were constantly worn by my father, Parákkamabáhumahārājá. When the vessel, now being fitted out for my emissary, is ready, an opportunity will be afforded to her of sailing in the company of your ship. May it please your Reverences to postpone your departure till then?' The eleven *théras* and Chitradúta, therefore, waited for the emissary of the Sihala King and anchored their ship at the port of Kalambu. Meanwhile, a violent wind, called *parádha*, arose and sank in the sea the large sea-going vessel, in which passengers had already embarked. When the Sihala King received the intelligence that Chitradúta's ship had foundered in the sea, he said thus to the *théras* and Chitradúta: 'If you have no ship, you might embark in the same ship as my emissary, and return home.' Accordingly, the *théras* and Chitradúta, together with his attendants, embarked in the same ship as the emissary of the Sihala King and left the port of Kalambu.

"Sailing out to mid-ocean, the ship continued her course through the *Straits of Silla*, which lies between Sihaladipa and Jambudipa. After three nights had elapsed since the ship left the port of Kalambu, she was wrecked by a violent storm, and, immersed in sea water, she remained fast between the jutting peaks of rocks. All the passengers, realising their inability to extricate the ship from amidst the rocks, collected all the timber and bamboos that happened to be in her, and, constructing a raft of them, and embarking on it, crossed to the Coast of Jambudipa, which was close by.

"Having lost the presents, the emissary of the Sihala King returned to Sihaladipa....."

5. Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, Honorary Secretary, read Notes sent by Messrs. H. W. Codrington, C. E. Corea, Dr. E. Roberts, and the Reverend M. Śrī Nānissara, High Priest. (See Appendices A, B, C, D.)

6. Comments on the Paper were offered by Messrs. D. B. Jayatilaka and Amand de Souza. (See Appendices E. and F.)

7. Notes on the Paper were read by Messrs. W. F. Gunawardhana Mudaliyār, E. M. J. Abeyesingha, and W. C. de Silva. (See Appendices G, H, and I.)*

8. Mr. Senaveratne replied briefly, and intimated that he would prepare a written answer to the criticisms. (See Appendix K.)

9. His Excellency said: I am to express, on behalf of the Meeting, our thanks to Mr. Senaveratne for the erudition which he has shown, for the combative spirit which he has evinced, and for his power, like Daniel, to stand alone. He has been in no way upset by the hostility with which he has been met. That was a very fine spirit, and I am sure you will agree with me that we all owe hearty thanks to Mr. Senaveratne for his scholarly Paper. (Loud applause.)

10. Sir Ponnambalam Arunāchalam seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried with acclamation.

11. Mr. C. Hartley proposed and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz seconded a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency for attending.

12. His Excellency said: I have been very much interested in coming to this Meeting, where those who are of Ceylon have dealt with Ceylon matters with enthusiasm, with an interest and with a skill, which would be valued in any country.

13. The Meeting then terminated.

APPENDIX A.

1. The Kalyāni inscription supplies a synchronism which must be explained by the writer of the Paper before his thesis can be accepted.

The dates therein given are:—

	A.B.	Śakkarāj.
Establishment of the religion in Arimaddanapura ..	1601	419
Purification of the religion in Ceylon, 18th year of Parā- krama Báhu	1601+ 107 = 1708	526
Rámádhpati, contemporary of Bhuvaneka Báhu, in whose reign the mission arrived in Ceylon	2002	820

* A Note by Simon de Silva Gate Mudaliyār, which was subsequently received, is printed as Appendix J.

In an article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society** by Mr. J. F. Fleet, an acknowledged authority on Indian chronological questions, a Burmese inscription dated Śakkarāj 657 at Bodh-gaya is discussed. Mr. Fleet takes this Śakkarāj Era as that used in Burma and dating from A.D. 638. Śakkarāj 657 therefore equals A.D. 1295, the day of the week and other date working out correctly for this year.

Taking this Era of A.D. 638 as being the Śakkarāj of the Kalyāni inscription, the dates work out as follows:

A.B.	Śakkarāj.	A.D.
1601	419	1057
1708	526	1164
2002	820	1458

The Buddhist Era, therefore, as used in Burma in the fifteenth century, was of 544 B.C. and the traditional date of Bhuwaneka Báhu appears to be confirmed. To upset this a change in the Burmese Śakkarāj Era must be proved, and of such a change Mr. Fleet is ignorant.

2. The following notes are on minor points and are immaterial to the main issue:

- (a) Mr. Senaveratne has kindly mentioned my opinion that the "New City" in the "pleasant country called Mâyá-dhanu" is Alutnuwara in Meda Pattu of Galboda Kóralé. A note however follows giving the identification of this country by Wijesinha as being in the neighbourhood of Sítáwaka. This identification seems to rest on the connection of King Mâyádunné with Sítáwaka. Now the *Kadainpota*, after dealing with the districts above the mountains, commences apparently with the Four Kóralés, works southwards, then to the sea and so up to the Seven Kóralés. The first division below Balané, over which the old road went to Udarata, is Galboda Kóralé, and I think it probable that this is represented by the Mâyádunna of the *Kadainpota*. The Four Kóralés was the appanage of Royal Princes in the fifteenth century, with their seat at Ambulugala in Galboda Kóralé, and later at Menikkadawara, and the name Mâyádunna appears to have been gradually extended to the rest of the Four Kóralés, as in the Tiyambaráhéna Dévalé ola† mention is made of Kanduasa Baláta of Mâyádunu Kóralé (now in Paranakúru Kóralé); cf. also the *Kadainpota* of Siyané Kóralé, once in the Four Kóralés.‡ Hence the use of Mâyádunné by certain princes.

* April 1913, p. 378

† Bell's Kégalla District Report, S. P. XIX., 1892, p. 56.

‡ Pieris' 'Ceylon, the Portuguese Era.' Vol. I., p. 464.

- (b) The *Vitti patraya* belongs to Mangalagama in the Four Kóralés, whereas the *Sittuwa* is of Nilawala in Héwá-heṭa. The two have come into the same family in comparatively recent years, and are independent documents. The latter was not given by a priest, but by the Loku Náyaka Hámuduruwó of the Pallé Mahá Wásala, i. e., one of the Royal Princes.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

APPENDIX B.

Mr. Senaveratne's courageous venture must compel the admiration even of those who may be too timid to follow him. He proposes to cut his way to the coverts where errors lurk, through the list of Kings—an operation never unattended with danger. It is devoutly to be wished that, either by Mr. Senaveratne's treatment or other means, some future light will be afforded. The sacrifice of a few Kings will not be too great a price to pay for such an adjustment of dates as will extricate portions of Ceylon History from the "tangled web" woven round them.

Mr. Senaveratne repeats the mistake of a *Rájáwaliya* writer which brought error into our historical microcosm.

The author of the earlier part of the *Rájáwaliya* stopped his narrative at the restoration of the monarchy after the interregnum which followed the capture and deportation of Vijaya Báhu, the eldest son of Parákrama Báhu of Dambadeniya. On this occasion Parákrama Báhu's four younger sons were slain, and there were no kings in Laṅka, except the pusillanimous nephew of Parákrama, until the son of Vijaya Báhu's Queen reached the age of 16, and ascended the throne as Parákrama Báhu. This was Parákrama Báhu III., son of Dambadeniya Baṇḍára, if we are to trust De Couto and Ribeiro.

The next *Rájáwaliya* writer, mistaking the reference, has continued the narrative as if it had stopped at the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI., which took place a hundred years later, leaving a gap which is sought to be filled by attempting, as Mr. Bell puts it: "to jam down that 'square piece'—one of the invasions of Ceylon, whether by Malays or Tamils, which occurred in the reign of Parákrama Báhu II. (13th century)—into the 'round hole' of the Chinese Expedition of 1408 A.D., which occurred some 140 years later!"*

The *Rájáwaliyá* Chronicle bridged the gap by the simple method of altering 1858 to 1958—an unfortunate emendation which the two Buddhist Priests (witnesses in the Adipola Sannasa Case) corrected by calculating that "the seventh day

* *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 341.

of the waning moon in the month of Vesak" fell on a Thursday in the year 1858 and not in 1958.*

I may be pardoned for "accepting the priests' evidence as infallible"† It is supported by Turnour's date, 1314 A.D., for the accession of Parākrama Báhu III.—the month of May of which year would be Vesak 1858 of the B.C. 544 Era. Turnour's date, 1303 A.D., for the preceding King, Bhuvaneka Báhu I., finds confirmation in Quartremere's Arabian Memoir on Egypt, which gives an account of an Embassy to Egypt from a Sinhalese King named "Abu-Nekbah-Lebabah" in A.D. 1304. Turnour was not correct, however, in assigning only 5 years to the reign of Parākrama Báhu III.; in my opinion it should be 10 years, which places Vathimi Bhuvaneka Báhu's accession in A.D. 1324, Śaka 1247 (new tradition). Vathimi Bhuvaneka Báhu reigned 2 years: 1247 and 1248, and in 1249 the reigning sovereign was Parākrama Báhu IV.‡

The above date for Parākrama Báhu IV. is arrived at on the "new tradition," reckoning the difference between A.B. and A.D. as 543 years. But Mr. Senaveratne, calculating on the B.C. 483 basis for the commencement of the Buddhist Era, brings this king's reign to the same year Śaka 1249; when a margin is left for the unsettled discrepancy of 2, 3, & 5 years, which is noted in the Paper. Although in the one case this would be the beginning of the reign, and in the other its end, the approximation reached by this process is close enough to be of interest.

C. E. COREA.

APPENDIX C.

According to Mr. Senaveratne's very interesting Paper, Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu reigned from Śaka 1159 to 1194 (A.D. 1296 to 1331); but we find that the same king granted

* [One of the arguments urged by Defendants' Counsel in the Adipola Case (D. C. Chilaw), whose *sannasa* was impugned by the Crown and rejected by the Judges.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† The same result was, I understand, obtained by a third high authority in Eastern chronological calculations, namely, the late Hindú High-Priest, Coomaraswamy Aiyer, of Colombo, who worked out the problem in Tamil.—*C. E. C.*

‡ [No inscriptions so far brought to light assign *fixed* dates to any of these Kings. The Galapáta Vihāré rock record shows that Parākrama Báhu II. (ascension as deduced from *Attana-galuwansa*=A.D. 1235-6) reigned at least 30 years; the *Daḷadā Sīrita* was written in the reign of Parākrama Báhu IV., or Śaka 1246=A.D. 1324-5; and the Gadalaḍeniya and Laṅkātilaka inscriptions fix the accession of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., in Śaka 1266=A.D. 1344-5. These are the only quite reliable dates known in a period of 110 years, covering two-thirds of the 13th and nearly the first half of the 14th century.—*Ed. Sec.*]

a *sannasa* to an Áchári who completed the new works in the Munneṣṣaram Dévalé in the Śaka year 1201, which, according to the usual way of reckoning, would be 1279 A.D.*

The Munneṣṣaram *sannasa* mentioned by Mr. Senaveratne does not seem to be genuine. Words like “*Mudiyanse*” and “*Gurunnehe*” are not used in genuine *sannas*. The word “*Mudaliyá*” is invariably used instead of “*Mudiyanse*.” (*Vide* Nugewala, Naranwala and Wilbagedera *sannas*.)

E. ROBERTS.

APPENDIX D.

Mr. John M. Senaveratne's Paper on the Date of Buddha's *Parinirvāna* (Death) and Ceylon Chronology must undoubtedly be of great interest to the student of research. The author appears to have spared no pains to gather materials which he deemed to be highly important to prove the accuracy of Dr. Fleet's assignment of date of the Buddha's death as 483 B.C.

I am unable to agree with this assignment; and desire to prove the correctness of the ancient historical date 543 or 544 B.C., according to calculation, as the most accurate and authentic.

We are now (July 1914) at the beginning of the 1837th year of the Śaka Era, of which a quarter has passed, and have already passed the 1836th year.

Wákyakarāṇa, an ancient astronomical work, shows in the following passage how to find out the exact Buddhist Era:—

*Purátanayuté Śáké
Buddhawarchamiti smritam.*

“By the addition of 621 to the Śaka Era, the Buddhist Era can be found with exquisite accuracy.” Hence the present Buddhist Era must = 2458 (Śaka 1837 + 621).

The following from the same book throws light on the Káli Era, which can be obtained by adding 3179 to the Śaka Era:—

*Dhúśikálayuté Śáké
Kályabdamiti kathyaté.*

Hence the present Káli Era = 5016 (3179+1837), which is universally accepted without dispute.

Therefore, by subtracting the present Buddhist Era from the Káli Era, the exact date of the death of the Buddha can be easily ascertained, thus:—

5016 (Káli)—2458 (Śaka)=2558 (Buddha varsha).

ŚRÍ NĀNISSARA.

* [Mr. Roberts quoted *translation* of the *sannasa*; but without the production of the *sannasa* itself no argument can be fairly based on it.—Ed. Sec.]

APPENDIX E.

One cannot but appreciate the labour that Mr. Senaveratne has bestowed on this Paper. With commendable industry a vast amount of material has been collected, which, whatever be its value for the immediate object in view, will be useful to those who want to study our history.

But as regards the subject matter of the Paper, I must express strong dissent from the views propounded. It seems to me that the writer has first adopted a theory and then set about making facts fit in with that theory. Naturally, in the process, history has become considerably distorted. The Paper contains many statements that call for adverse criticism. I will briefly touch on one or two points here.

Mr. Senaveratne takes it for granted that the Buddha's Death occurred not in 544 B.C., as the Ceylon tradition has it, but in 483 B.C. Now this latter view has been put forward and supported by distinguished European Scholars, whose opinion is entitled to the utmost respect. But I am not quite sure that the last word has yet been said on that subject. That is, however, too large a theme to be discussed on this occasion.

Let us assume with the lecturer that the *Parinibbāna* took place in 483 B.C. Then the question arises *when and how* did the discrepancy of 61 years creep into our Chronology. Prof. Wickramasinghe, in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*,* discusses this question and suggests that the mistake may have occurred in regard to the length of reigns assigned to the several kings who preceded the great Vijaya Báhu I. Now that was a century of foreign domination. For 86 years, or (as some authorities have it) for 96 years, the Chólians overran the Island, carrying destruction everywhere. All learning was at end. No records were kept, not a line has survived to us from that period. If a mistake did really occur in our Chronology, it is most probable that it was in connection with some such troublous time. Mr. Wickramasinghe advances his theory cautiously, as befits a sound scholar. All that he says on the subject however, is dismissed by Mr. Senaveratne in this Paper as pure speculation. Instead, we are asked to believe that the correct reckoning, with 483 B.C. as its starting point, continued to be used down to the close of Parákrama Báhu VI.'s reign (*i.e.* about to the end of the 15th century of the Christian Era), and then an addition of, not 61 but, 93 years was suddenly made. No explanation is given as to how this drastic change happened. Parákrama Báhu's reign covered a half-century of unexampled prosperity. There was peace in the country, learning flourished to a degree never attained to in later times; and the majority of the great scholars whose works have survived belonged to this remarkable era. These scholars apparently used the correct method

* Vol. I., pp. 142 note, 155—7.

of reckoning; and the Royal Grants too are correctly dated. No contemporary writer makes the slightest reference to any dispute or controversy in regard to the Buddhist Era then in use. But suddenly, mysteriously, a new and incorrect method of reckoning steals into our Chronology, and completely ousts the old and correct method. To say the least, this is on its face a highly improbable theory.

In order to accommodate facts to this theory, the writer tries to prove that it was Vijaya Báhu V., the predecessor of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., of Gampola, who was carried away captive to China. Here he contradicts not only Sinhalese History, but Chinese Chronicles as well. The Chinese historians tell us that the prince who was captured bore the name of *Alagakkonára*. The *Saddharmaratnákara*, which was composed in the 7th year of Parákrama Báhu VI.'s reign, i.e., less than 15 years after the Chinese invasion, (and whose author was therefore a contemporary witness) records that Vira Alakéśvara "went away, having fallen a victim to Chinese strategy." Now, there is no evidence whatever to prove the identity of Vira Alakéśvara with Vijaya Báhu V., or that the latter belonged to the Alagakkonára family at all. As a matter of fact, the members of this family rose to a predominant position and ventured to aspire to royal dignity and power after the time of the great Alakéśvara, the maker of Kótté (Jayawardhanapura) into a royal city.

According to Mr. Senaveratne, it was not the Buddhist Era alone that was changed in this unaccountable manner. He would have us to believe that 93 years were added to the Śaka Era as well. This is simply impossible. The Śaka Era, as everybody knows, is commonly used in India. It is absurd to suppose that a Śaka Era different to that of India was under any circumstances used in Ceylon.

We are further assured that this huge mistake which crept into our Chronology at the close of Parákrama Báhu VI.'s reign continued down to the time of Kirti Śrī Rájasingha (1747—1780 A.C.), when it was rectified to the extent of 32 years by the author of the concluding portion of the *Mahāvamsa*. This is, of course, a gratuitous assumption. There is not a scrap of evidence to prove any such rectification: this in passing.

According to the writer's theory, Śaka dates from the time of Parákrama Báhu VI. to Kirti Śrī Rájasingha were inaccurate to the extent of 93 years. Now this can be easily tested. There are books written during the intervening period which bear Śaka dates. Alagiyavanna's *Kusa Játaka*, for instance, is dated "the full moon day of Vesak in the Śaka year 1532." This corresponds to 1610 of the Christian Era. This date falls well within the period unhesitatingly assigned to Alagiyavanna. For we know that he began his career at the Court of Rája Singha I., (1581—1592 A.C.) of Sítávaka, whose praises he sings in his *Sevul Sandesaya*. The late Mr. Donald

Ferguson has shown that the Secretary-Poet was alive in 1620 A.C.* But if we must, according to the writer's theory, deduct 93 years from 1532 to obtain the correct Śaka years, the *Kusa Jātaka* must have been written in 1517 A.D., yet the poet lived up to 1620.

The unsoundness of the whole theory becomes obvious when it is brought to the test of undisputable facts.

D. B. JAYATILAKA.

APPENDIX F.

Mr. Armand de Souza ventured to submit a few "poor remarks," such as one might expect from a mere layman on a matter of such profound interest and difficulty. He felt sure that many there, as laymen, like himself, were deeply interested but without the advantage of special study. The discussion had taken a somewhat confusing turn. They had heard learned speeches and Notes, and were bewildered in a wilderness of conflicting dates and opposing authorities.

The writer of the Paper had presented his case with much plausibility and supported it with a wealth of illustration and references, and the gathering should pass from criticism to rendering their thanks to Mr. Senaveratne. He had been much impressed by the Paper and by the scholarship shown in its preparation.

He would only invite attention to one aspect of the Paper, which might, in particular, interest those of them who were officials. He had been told that many Land Cases had in the past been decided against the lawful claimants by reason of discrepancies in dates which the new theory would reconcile. For instance, a claimant put forward an ancient *sannasa* given in a stated year by a stated king, granting the land to a claimant's ancestors. On inquiry, however, it transpired that in the year stated in the *sannasa*, the reigning king was not the king named therein, and thus the *sannasa* was pronounced spurious and the claim dismissed. The new theory, if established, would at once show that the discrepancies were attributable solely to the confusion in dates now re-adjusted by Mr. Senaveratne's Paper. Might it not happen that claims dismissed in the past on grounds of such discrepancies would have to be recognised? In that case it was not only history, but land tenure that would be affected.

* Ferguson, C. A. S. Journal, Vol. XVI., No. 50, p. 118.

APPENDIX G.

The industry shown by the writer in putting this full Paper together, and the extensive field of research covered in the elaboration of his theory is highly commendable. He would appear to have read almost every book bearing upon the subject.

The Paper involves two propositions:—

- (I.) That Buddha died, not in the year 543 B.C. but 60 years later, *i.e.*, in the year 483 B.C.
- (II.) That the Buddhist Era in Ceylon was in advance of the Christian Era, not by 543 years as hitherto supposed, but by 483 years.

Mr. Senaveratne takes the first proposition for granted, on the strength of the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Fleet and accepted by Professors Geiger and Wickramasinghe; and he says that the correctness of Dr. Fleet's date is beyond question.

In my edition of the *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, I gave reasons placing the *Parinirvāna* of Buddha in the year 478 B.C.

Dr. Fleet's date was advanced before him by Curtes in the 19th century, and questioned by Cunningham. But the exact date of Buddha's Death is, after all, only a question of academic interest. Once an Era is established, Chronology is thereafter concerned, not with the date on which it should have theoretically begun, but with the date on which, in actual practice, it did begin.

Mr. Senaveratne says that the Buddhist Era in Ceylon began, not in 543 B.C., as accepted in Burma, Siam, and Ceylon, but 60 years later, *i.e.*, 483 B.C.; that it so continued till the time of Parākrama Báhu VI., when it was corrupted by the addition of 93 years; and that a few centuries still later a Buddhist monk at Kandy dropped 32 years out of this 93, when the Era assumed its present state.

Mr. Senaveratne cites several *sannas*, extending over a period of 168 years, as all apparently attested by one and the same "*Sannas Tiruvarahan Perumál*." It evidently did not strike him that the "*Perumál*" was only the Officer, and that every holder of the office was "*Sannas Tiruvarahan Perumál*."

According to Mr. Senaveratne, the Buddhist Era in Ceylon was always 483 B.C. up to the reign of Parākrama Báhu VI., when a new tradition came in that the Buddha died in 544 B.C., and in consequence the Era was changed—not to that year, but—to 576 B.C. To arrive at the adjustment, a few centuries later a Buddhist at Kandy conveniently dropped 32 years out of the revised date, and brought it to its present shape, *viz*: 543-544 B.C., the addition on the original figure thus being 60-61 years.

But Mr. Senaveratne is confronted with a formidable difficulty to his Buddhist Era theory. Side by side with that Era, there was another Era current in Ceylon, that of Śaka, introduced from India. Between the two Eras was a difference of 622 years, and to this day this constant of difference remains.

This difficulty Mr. Senaveratne would solve by asserting that the Śaka Era was changed at the same time. Is that true? In both India and Ceylon, the present year (1914 A.D.) is 1836 of the Śaka Era. To talk about "the pure (*suddha*) Era of Śaka" is to admit that a change would have been corruption; for purity means no change. It being established that the Śaka Era in India and Ceylon has never changed, and that the mutual correspondence between the Śaka and Buddhist Eras still remains the same, it follows that the Buddhist Era in Ceylon was never changed too.

Mr. Senaveratne's theory may be tested from a different point, *viz.*: the Kalyāni inscription. This lithic record was set up at Pegu immediately after the event it is intended to perpetuate, and as an historical document, therefore, it is of the highest authority possible. Its evidence is fatal to Mr. Senaveratne's theory.

According to the Kalyāni inscription, a religious Embassy came to Ceylon from Ramanādesa or Burma in the Burmese year 837 of *Śakkarāj*, and was received by the King of Ceylon, Bhuvaneka Báhu. It is admitted that the King referred to was Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. According to accepted Chronology, this King reigned 2012-2019 A.B., *i.e.*, 1469-1476 A.C. But according to Mr. Senaveratne's theory, he reigned between 1528-1551 A.C.; and as the Burmese Embassy took place in one of these two periods, it is plain that the year 837 of *Śakkarāj* ought to fall within one period or the other. The Burmese Calendar for 1914 shows that the current year of *Śakkarāj* is 1276. The Embassy, therefore, took place in 1276—837 or 439 years ago, *i.e.*, 1475 A.C., which by accepted Chronology, was the last year but one in the reign of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. As this date 1475 A.C. cannot be disputed Mr. Senaveratne's theory comes to this: that the Burmese Embassy came in the reign of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI., but half a century or more before that King ever came to the throne!

Mr. Senaveratne's theory is, therefore, hopelessly unsound.

W. F. GUNAWARDHANA.

APPENDIX H.

In his Paper Mr. Senaveratne displays great research, great learning, and great ingenuity. He has accepted Dr. Fleet's date of the Death of Buddha as unquestionable, and on it has re-cast the Chronology of Ceylon History.

The re-adjustment demands close study of the originals.

Samuel Johnson in his "Oriental Religions" says:—

"The Chinese and Japanese insist on the 10th century, and the Sinhalese on the 6th century B.C. This last date, 543 B.C., substantiated by an agreement among the Southern Buddhists, has been generally accepted by European Scholars (Lassen, St. Hillaire, Burnouf, Weber, and Max Muller)."

We find there are altogether six different sources of dates to arrive—at least approximately—at the date of Buddha's Death, viz:—(1) The Páli, (2) Sanskrit, (3) Puránic, (4) Jain, and (5) Greek accounts, and, lastly, (6) Inscriptions found in India, Ceylon, and other Buddhist countries.

The Páli accounts fix 544 or 543 B.C. as the year in which the Buddha entered *Nirvána*. It was in the third century after Gautama's Death that the Buddhist missionaries came over to Ceylon. If then the Ceylon Buddhists accepted B.C. 544 as the date given by the first missionaries, can we entertain a doubt regarding the date, remembering that the first missionaries must surely be right regarding the momentous Death which closed their Great Master's life—an event which occurred only three hundred years previous?

From the *Aśóka Avadána* and the *Avadána Sataka* (Northern Buddhist Works), we can draw the same conclusion.

From the *Puránas* we know that Buddha was contemporaneous with Bimbisara; and if with the *Jains*, we identify Swámi Gautama or Gautam Indrabhuti with Lord Buddha, the first disciple of the Jains, Tirthankara Mahávira, we can approximately fix, from both these sources, the date of the Great Demise at 544 B.C.

And from the *Greeks* we know that Alexander reached India in 328 B.C. and Alexander II. ascended the throne of Epirus in B.C. 272, many years before Aśóka assumed the sovereignty of Magadha, which was in 290 B.C. If then we place Aśóka's accession in 290 B.C., which we know to have taken place 236 years at least before Buddha's Death, the attainment of *Nirvána* was in $290 + 236$, i.e., 526 B.C., a difference of only 18 years from those of the Páli dates.

Against the strong evidence of all these sources, is it reasonable to place the date of the Death in 483, or 61 years later?

Dr. Fleet, following General Cunningham, considers the inscription found at Gya a crucial test as to the date of the Buddha's Death. But Mr. Mannartha Nath Shástri, M.A., M.R.A.S., the author of "Lord Buddha, His Life, Teaching and Order," seems to prove conclusively that that date is untenable. His words are:—

But General Cunningham first read in the inscription 1819 instead of 1813 which he now reads: 'So 1819 was read' says he 'by learned men of Bengal.' But perhaps it did not strike

him that if the figures be 1819, then the date of the Nirwána falls exactly in 544 B.C. There is exactly 66 years between 1879 and 1813. Therefore, we believe the figure in the inscription is 1819 instead of 1813 or 1816. Instead of reducing the date of the *Nirwána* by 66 years, making it 478 B.C., in the place of 544 B.C., which we find in the Puránas in the Jain sacred books, in the Sinhalese and Chinese records, is it not better to consider that in an old inscription a seven has been so obliterated as [*sic*] it has looked like a 1? General Cunningham reads 7 instead of 1 in the Gya inscription; then he will find the date of the *Nirwána* is exactly 544 B.C.

Mr. Senaveratne's attempt to throw light on historical points enwrapped in darkness and confusion, is most laudable. His speculations—for such they are—are ingenious, and would justify consideration had he substantiated Dr. Fleet's theory. For such substantiation one should turn above all to the original Páli sources, which Mr. Senaveratne has ignored. All the Páli sources fix B.C. 544, or B.C. 543, as the date of Gautama Buddha's Death. Dr. Oldenberg remarks:—

It is to the Páli traditions we must go in preference to all other sources, if we desire to know whether any information is obtainable regarding the Buddha and his life.

Mr. Senaveratne has taken as unquestionable Dr. Fleet's theory in the teeth of weighty evidence in favour of the older date.

In conclusion, I may say that, since the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon in 236 B.C., the priests of every Viháre recite, or should recite, in the evenings the number of years, months, and days relating to Gautama Buddha's Death. This custom is said to have prevailed from the very day he passed away.

E. M. ABEYESINGHE.

APPENDIX I.

The Society is indebted to Mr. John M. Senaveratne for a very interesting and instructive Paper. Nevertheless criticism must follow on statements so far contradictory to accepted views.

My critical arguments are based mainly on Páli sources for the date of Buddha's Death, and on inscriptions, *sannas*, and literature for Ceylon Chronology. The date of the *Parinirwána* has been tested by Astronomy.

Mr. Senaveratne clings to the theory advanced by Dr. Fleet, who tries to fit it to Ceylon Chronology and subvert the correct records of some of the canonical texts, as well as some of the highly authentic books on Ceylon History.

Dr. Fleet's view of the date of the Death of Buddha is incorrect; and so is that of Dr. Geiger, who, perhaps, had not the opportunity to read some of our books of the period which abound in allusions to the dates. If Professor Wickremasinghe accepts the above views, he contradicts himself; as I propose to show in this memorandum.

In the first place, we cannot accept either the *Mahāvamsa* or the *Rājawaliya* as the only genuine sources. Each has its own defects. Where the authors had sufficient data at hand, and these from reliable sources, their dates tally with those in inscriptions. They become spurious, especially in the case of the *Mahāvamsa*, where it deals with the period from Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. (14th century) up to Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṅha (18th century). In the *Rājawaliya* there is a gap of nearly 100 years between Parākrama Báhu II. and Vijaya Báhu VI. The latter part of that work gives fairly reliable information on the period in detail, as it deals with events already known to the majority.

How far the *Mahāvamsa* can be relied on for the events it relates, especially after Parākrama Báhu I., and up to Vimaladharmasūriya, is open to question.

The Editors of the *Mahāvamsa* are of opinion that:—

Chapters 62-78 appear to have been versified by the priests of the same school, and the events in the reign of Parākrama Báhu I. were recorded while they were taking place; the use of the present tense in the stanza at the end of Chapter 77 clearly shows this.....The part dealing with the events subsequent to Parākrama Báhu I., as the text shows, were compiled by priests who obtained records with great difficulty; and accordingly *this portion is not very reliable.*

A careful examination of the texts of the *Rājawaliya* and the *Rājaratnākara* will reveal to any student that one is a copy of the other, or that both the works have been copied from the same book. The so-called *Wanni Rājawaliya* differs from the *Rājawaliya* proper with regard to some dates.

Dr. Fleet's theory is that the Buddha died on the Kārttika Sukla 8 of B.C. 483. Dr. Fleet must find difficulty in assigning the dates for Chandragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka, without carefully going through the list of the Indian Sovereigns from the Death of the Buddha. He makes a statement inconsistent with the actual dates he derived from other sources.

We are told in *Samanta Prasādika* (a commentary by Buddhaghosa on the Vinaya text):—

In the 8th year of the reign of King Ajātasatru, Prince Vijaya, son of Prince Siṅha, came to Ceylon and became its first King.

Further, we know that King Ajātasatru reigned 32 years; so that there is left a period of 24 years from Ajātasatru, after the Death of Buddha. We also learn from *Nikaya Saṅgrahawa* that Prince Mahinda introduced Buddhism into

Ceylon in the 236th year from Buddha's Death, which is the 18th year of the reign of Aśoka in India. This is confirmed by the *Dīpavaṇsa*. In the *Mahāvaṇsa* we find that at the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, Dewānampiya Tissa had reigned 1 year.

The Table below is in accordance with Dr. Fleet who says:—

The text of Buddhaghosa assigns 18 instead of 8 years to Anuruddha and Muṇḍa, and the *Mahāvaṇsa* assigns 34 instead of 24 to Chandragupta.

But the text of Buddhaghosa has been carefully adhered to in drawing up the following Table; whereas Dr. Fleet must have obtained an incorrect copy for his criticism:—

Ajātasastu ..	.. 24	10 Kings from Bhadra-	
Udayabhadra ..	.. 16	sena ..	.. 22
Anuruddha and Muṇḍa ..	.. 8	9 Nandana Kings ..	.. 22
Nāgadāsaka ..	.. 24	Chandragupta ..	.. 24
Susunāga* ..	.. 18	Bindusāra ..	.. 28
Kālāśoka ..	.. 38	Aśoka (unannointed) ..	.. 4
		Aśoka (annointed) ..	.. 18
			<hr/> 236 <hr/>

These reigns give 236 years; but Dr. Fleet gets a total of 218 years.

Again we are told in *Sarārthha Dīpani* Commentary that the Buddha died on the same day on which Prince Vijaya landed in Ceylon, and that there was an interregnum for 8 years; that King Paṇḍuwāsudeva reigned 30 years, Abhaya 20 years, Tisa 17 years, Paṇḍukābhaya 70, Mutasiva 60, and that Devānampiya Tisa had reigned for 1 year, when Prince Mahinda arrived in Ceylon; so that the sum total tallies with the number of years from Ajātasastu to the 18th year of Aśoka.

Some scholars doubt that Paṇḍukābhaya could have reigned 70 years; and hence are led to say that the native historians desired to connect Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon with the Death of the Buddha. The difficulty can be solved if we consider that there was Civil War between the young Prince Pandukābhaya and his uncle, and that his reign evidently commenced when he was very young.

Dr. Fleet puts the Death of the Buddha in a month which no Chronicle warrants; namely on the Karthika Sukla 8. Buddhist Chronicles all agree that the three events, namely, his birth, attainment of supreme knowledge, and death, all occurred on a full moon day of Vaisāka. It was a custom in Ceylon to celebrate the Vaisāka festival, and the *Mahāvaṇsa*

* 100 years to the 10th regnal year of this King, according to *Nikāya Saṅgraha*.

states that Duṭṭhagāmini-abhaya celebrated it twenty-four times.

My calculation of the date, the day of week, and hour of the phase of the moon at the time of Buddha's Death, independently of the Christian Era, using only the Kāliyuga years, shows that *26th of April, a Tuesday*, agrees with the hitherto accepted week day for the Death.

By way of illustration, the dates given in the Végiriya inscription reduced separately to the Christian year, may be quoted, viz: Śaka 1337 and A.B. 1957. Both these dates are given in that inscription, which, with the usual additions are converted into Śaka 1337 + 78 = A.C. 1415, B.V. 1957—543 = 1414.* These dates cannot be so approximate unless the Death of the Buddha took place in 543 B.C. Hence the statement by Mr. Senaveratne in his Paper becomes falsified.

The following extract from Müller's comment (J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 538) on Wickremasinghe's *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. 1, Pt. IV., No. 9, still further shows the correctness of 543 B.C. as the true date.

Wickremasinghe proves from the contemporary record at the Galvihāré at Polonnaruwa (A. I. C. No. 137), from the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, and from an inscription in the district of Conjeevaram, that Parākrama Báhu I. reigned from 1153-1186 A.D., that consequently the accession of Nissanka Malla may be placed in the year 1188 and the date of the present inscription between 1192-1197.

This agrees with Mr. Senaveratne's date when reckoned from 543 B.C. and contradicts his statement as to 483 B.C.

One more example of the identity of the dates should suffice to confirm the fact that even in the 14th century, the reckoning of the dates was based on the belief that Buddha died in 543 B.C.

According to the Laṅkátīlaka and Gaḍaladeniya inscriptions, Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. ascended the throne in Śaka 1266, which converted to A.C. will give A.C. 1344.† The date of the accession of the same King, according to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava* and *Rājaratnākaraya*, is 1890 A.B. = A.C. 1347—a difference of 3 years only, and not 61 as Mr. Senaveratne urges. If 483 B.C. is accepted for Buddha's Death, the date of accession of this King works out to A.C. 1407, which is contradictory to the said inscriptions.

Hence we are led either to reject 483 B.C. as incorrect, or else to consider these rock inscriptions as forgeries. The former undoubtedly is the proper alternative.

The correct date being thus established, the following inferences are drawn therefrom, by testing the *Buddha-varsha* dates in the Paper with historical records of Ceylon.

* Bell—*C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXII., No. 65, pp. 293-4, 366.

† Bell, *loc. cit.* pp. 356 note, 360 note, 405 note.

The date of the accession of Mahásena in 845 A.B. is correct according to the learned *Mahāwamsa* Editors.

Again the Tables given by Mr. Senaveratne become different from the *Mahāwamsa** and most of the other Chronicles, and become correct again at the accession of Udaya III.

At this point the question raised by Mr. Wickremasinghe (on whose support Mr. Senaveratne depends) must be answered, viz: that the period from 1497 A.B. to 1590, the accession of Parákrama Pāṇḍiya, has to be accounted for. *Nikāya Saṅgrahava* states that at the death of Gaja Báhu, 1696 years had elapsed since Buddha's Death and that the accession of Udaya III. falls to A.B. 1497. These dates are confirmed by *Mahāwamsa*, *Rájaratnákaraya*, and by Mr. Senaveratne's Tables.

Taking, therefore, the above as correct according to all other records, the 109 years have to be distributed among sixteen Kings, and not as Mr. Senaveratne says among ten Kings (including the interregnum of 12 years after Mahinda V.).

Allotting the respective number of years to each of the Kings about whom all authorities agree, and assigning twelve years for the interregnum, the remaining sixteen years must be distributed between Kings Kuḍa Midel and Vikrama Báhu, after Mahinda V. and Salamevan whom *Rájawaliya*, *Rájaratnákaraya* and *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa* mention, and Mr. Senaveratne does not.

So that now we are able to start with Parákrama Báhu the Great, as pointed out above, and with 1153 A.D. as date of his accession, which has now been accepted almost universally. Henceforth the periods assigned to the various Kings differ slightly; and, consequently, authorities differ considerably as to the date of the accession of Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu II. *Rájawaliya* is full of mistakes as to the lengths of periods—for instance 40 years has been allotted to *Enikāṅga* who reigned only 17 days.

For Parákrama Báhu II., Turnour gives 1267-1301 A.C.: 1809-1844 A.B.; *Mahāwamsa* gives 1240-1275 A.C.: 1783-1818 A.B.; *Attanagāluwamsa* gives 1236-1271 A.C.: 1779-1814 A.B.; and *Dambadeni Asna* (a contemporary work) gives 1826 A.B. (=1273 A.C.) for his coronation.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell in his Kégalla Report† writes of the conflicting dates:—

All difficulty may, perhaps, be solved by presuming a real reign of 30 years, from 1236 to 1266 A.D. and a vicarious rule of 2, or even 5, years more, with his son, Bósat Vijaya Báhu IV., as Prince Regent.

* The Editors of the Sinhalese *Mahāwamsa* state in a foot-note that the dates are doubtful from Kásyapa.

† Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 77.

This explanation of Mr. Bell is quite correct according to the events narrated in the contemporary chronicles.* So that Parákrama Báhu II.'s real reign ends with A.B. 1809. This agrees with the *Nikáya Saṅgrahava*. Again, we are told in the same work that 1894 years had elapsed since the Death of the Buddha up to the 4th year of the reign of Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.

So that when we allot from these 81 (1890—1809) years, among the aforesaid four of the seven Kings as to whose reigns all authorities agree, 2 years to Bósat Vijaya Báhu IV., 11 to Bhuvaneka Báhu I., 5 to Parákrama Báhu III., 2 to Vathimi Bhuvaneka Báhu or a total of 20 years,—there is left a balance of 61 years to be distributed among Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu IV., Vanni Bhuvaneka Báhu III., Vijaya Báhu V. (Jaya Báhu). This would account for the difference of 61 years, which Mr. Senaveratne regards as due to the reckoning of the Death of the Buddha from 483 B.C. Hence it may be concluded that the date hitherto presumed, viz: 543 B.C., remains assured.

The incorrect date given for Vikrama Báhu III. by Mr. Senaveratne can be corrected by the Vígulawatta inscription, of which Mr. Bell says in his Kégalla Report†:—

The inscription is really dated “in the 4th year of the reign of Sri Vikrama Báhu, when 1282 years of the Śaka Era had passed” or briefly, in $(1282 + 78) = 1360$ A.D. This gives 1356 as the date of the accession.

Hence Mr. Senaveratne's date, 1422 A.D., is incorrect.

With regard to Bhuvaneka Báhu V., the *Nikáya Saṅgrahava*, written a few years only after 1396 A.D. and, therefore, to be trusted implicitly, says:—

In the 20th year of that Bhuvaneka Báhu (V.), the brother-in-law of that King, Vira Báhu Ēpá of the Mehenawara clan, assumed the kingly office.

This probably means—as Mr. Bell fairly surmises‡—that owing to some cause Bhuvaneka Báhu V., after ruling *de facto* for 20 years (1371-1391), handed over the reins of Government with the title of King to his brother, or brother-in-law, Vira Báhu (Vijaya Báhu), retaining for himself the nominal sovereignty. This fact is confirmed by the Ganegoda *Sannasa* of A.C. 1397, and the Godagama *Sannasa* granted in 1400 A.D.§

So that we can place Vijaya Báhu VI.'s reign in 1401, in the Table of Mr. Senaveratne, where the Christian era is reckoned from 543 B.C.:—

* The Galapáta Viháre inscription (Bell, *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, Part IV.) is dated in the 30th year of this king.

† Sessional Paper XIX, of 1892, p. 78.

‡ Bell, *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXII., No. 65, pp. 292-3.

§ Bell, Kégalla Report, Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, pp. 9-12.

There is unimpeachable and conclusive evidence afforded by the Kérágala inscription, combined with the title of Parákrama Báhu VI.'s royal father, on the Kuḍumirissa slab, that a paramount King, styled Vijaya Báhu of the Śri Saṅga Bó dynasty, did reign* for at least eleven years in the period between 1390-1 A.D. and 1411-12 A.D.

This king Mudaliyar Gunawardana confounds with Vijaya Báhu V. (of Mr. Senaveratne's Table) and says that it was the latter who was deported to China in A.C. 1408.

The date of Parákrama VI.'s accession, therefore, in the Christian era, taking 543 B.C. as the date of the Buddha's Death, is 1415 A.C. It is thus given in the *Rájawaliya* :—

When King Vijaya Báhu was transported to China on Thursday, the 7th day of the bright half of the moon in the Nakshastra Pusha, in the month of Vaisaka in the Buddhist year 1958.

According to my calculation, with the help of the Tables of Swámi Kannu Aiyar,† I get this day as Thursday, the 1st of May, 1415 A.C. This, as the date of accession of Parákrama Báhu VI., is confirmed by the *Kávyá Sékharaya* and the *Pepiliyána* and Saman Dévāle inscriptions. This year, A.B. 1958, undoubtedly is the date of the inauguration ceremony of this King.‡

Again, *Námawaliya* gives—Śaka 1343 = 10th year of Parákrama Báhu VI., which = $(1343 + 78)$ 1421 A.C. According to this, the date of accession will be 1411 A.D. *Maháwaṇsa* gives the date as A.B. 1953 = 1411 A.C. *Panchika Pradīpa* speaks of Śaka 1379 as the 45th year of Parákrama Báhu. This also makes the year of his accession as 1411 A.C.

Hence it can be concluded that, though the King was formally crowned in 1415, he must have been trained by his father, Vijaya Báhu VI., for 4 years, or from 1411-1415. Giving him 52 years from this date (viz: 1415), we may fix his period from 1415-1467, which Mr. Bell regards as correct; and this is confirmed by the date given in the *Budugunalaṅkārāya* (which he quotes)§ composed in the 3rd year of Bhuvaneka Báhu, 2015 years after the Death of the Buddha, i.e., $(2015 - 3 - 543) = 1469$ A.D. = the 1st year of Bhuvaneka Báhu. Again, this confirms the correctness of 543 B.C. as the date of the Death of the Buddha.

The details of the succeeding reigns are clearly set forth in the *Rájawaliya*,|| a Chronicle which cannot be ignored for this period, as it is by Mr. Senaveratne.

* Bell, *C. A. S. Journal*, loc. cit. p. 349.

† The Tables in my possession give Kaliyuga, Śaka and A.C. years from B.C. I. In this no change of reckoning the Śaka Era is mentioned.

‡ *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 356

§ Bell, Kégalla Report, p. 84 note

|| Sinhalese text and English translation published.

Don Juan Dharmapála succeeded his grandfather, Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. In a book belonging to Mgr. Zaleski (to which Mr. Senaveratne himself alludes)* Bhuvaneka Báhu is stated to have been living in 1543 A.D., though Mr. Senaveratne would have us believe that he never lived. The existence of this King is supported by the Mámpe *Sannasa* granted in the 4th year, and by the Demalađuwa *Sannasa* in the 10th year of Bhuvaneka Báhu.†

That Vijaya Báhu VII. lived is proved by the Devundara *Sannasa* granted in 1518. Vijaya Báhu reigned for a short period in the South while his brother Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX. reigned at Kótté 1505-27; and the Kēḷaniya inscription of the 19th year of this latter king does not allow us to ascribe it to any other king‡

The *Rājawaliya* clearly establishes the existence of five kings whom Mr. Senaveratne would wholly eliminate.

If *Kāvyaśekaraya* is right—and there can be no reason to doubt its genuineness—and if Parákrama Báhu VI. was firmly seated on the throne in A.B. 1958 = A.C. 1415, and reigned 52 years (as is most probable), he would have died in 1467 A.C., and could not have been living in 1505 to see the arrival of the Portuguese.

Mr. Senaveratne (quoting from Pieris' 'The Portuguese Era') states, that the Portuguese had a *sannasa* from the Sinhalese King in which "this the 40th year, named *Segara*" appears. This can be no other than the shorter form "*Śaka 1440*" which = 1516 A.C., and is a likely enough date for Parákrama Báhu IX. to have given a *sannasa* as he came to the throne in 1505. Mr. P. E. Peiris' explanation of "*Sekere*" as the Chandra or Chandradhipati year (Vol. I., p. 458) is foreign to Astronomy. With due deference, I say that the year as the 43rd year of the cycle alluded to by Mr. Peiris as Saumya is utterly wrong.§ Mr. Senaveratne's correction is equally abroad. Both do not understand the nature of the *Prabhavādi* calculation of the East.|| If Mr. Peiris explains the year as 1518, it is not the Saumya, but the Raṣwara year, the 11th of the Cycle; so that there is a difference of $43 - 11 = 32$ years. Next Saumya occurred in $1518 + 32 = 1550$ A.C., which is too distant a date.

My explanation that "*Sekera 40*" was *Śaka 1440* abbreviated is quite probable, as it would agree with A.C. 1516, a year not inconsistent with the Treaty, when a Parákrama Báhu was on the throne.

* *C. A. S. Journal*, No. 65, 1912, p. 276. [The book has not been produced.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† *C. A. S. Journal*, *loc. cit.* pp. 271-3.

‡ *Loc. cit.* p. 285.

§ The 40th year or 43rd year of any of these Kings' reign, is not Saumya.

|| *Prabhavādi* Cycle began in 349 Śaka. Cycles of 60 years from 349 Śaka have names to symbolise them.

The easiest way to reconcile the statement is to explain the honorific "Dhamma" applied to Parākrama Báhu IX., as due to a peaceful reign during which he lived in peace with the Portuguese as well as his brothers.

This much, I hope, will settle the doubt that the Portuguese landed in Dhamma Parākrama Báhu's reign.

Don Juan Dharmapála cannot be the same as Sapumal Kumārāya who was Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. The Genealogical Table shows that Don Juan was the son of Samudra Dévi and Vídya Baṇḍara, a daughter and son respectively of Bhuvaneka Báhu VII.

There is more convincing proof in the book of Mgr. Zaleski, which says that Don Juan succeeded Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. in 1550, and that he had not been baptised. Up till then the King, his grandfather (Bhuvaneka Báhu), had been opposed to it, and after the latter's death his father, Vídya Rāja, who had assumed the regency during the minority of the King, placed obstacles in its way. This clearly shows who Don Juan was. Moreover, this book—if substantiated—throws a flood of light on the situation. Sapumal Kumārāya (Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.) died in 1476 A.C. and Don Juan Dharmapála was a mere boy in 1543, if the Delegate's authority is correct.* These two days do not help us to identify Don Juan as Sapumal Kumārāya.

Mr. Senaveratne mentions "*Sannas Tiruvarahan Perumál*" as one and the same individual. In point of fact, "*Sannas Tiruvarahan Perumál*" was the post of Secretary under the Siṅhalese Kings, especially during the years when Tamil influence was very great. From the time of Parākrama Báhu the Great, the *Sannas Tiruvarahan* family was a very influential one for nearly 200 years. The person who acted as the Secretary, was chosen from this family and had his proper name, but signed as "*Sannas Tiruvarahan Perumalumha*."

The Secretary during Parākrama Báhu VI.'s reign was also from this family and was known by the name of Wickramasinghe Adigar. His merits are described in the *Hansa Sandesaya* as follows:—

මුනිදුන් උසුල්වන්—සුරිදුන් නරනිදුන් වෙත.

බැති සිත රකිණ නම පණ සතර වැනි කො	ට
සතවෙත පතුරුවන මෙන් කුපුණු හැම වි	ට

සන්තස් ලියන නිති—මැති කුල නිර්වරගමු

වන්ඩා තප කිරණ වන් තද මෙදින් ද	බි
බන්ඩා ර නාසක තනතුරු සිරිත් හෙ	බි

* C. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXII., No. 65, 1912, p. 277.

වික්‍රම මිර විද්වත් දැක නොපෑමි	වි
සක්‍රම නිබ්බරු බස් මිස නොනෙපලන සි	වි
අක්‍රම වංක ගුණ මදකුන් නොගෙන සි	වි
වික්‍රම සිංහ අදිකාරග මැනිලි සි	වි

The particular Secretary even acted as Treasurer (*Baṇḍāra-nāyaka.*).

This explanation will, I hope, satisfy Mr. Senaveratne.

W. CHARLES DE SILVA.

APPENDIX J.

Mr. Senaveratne's contention is that up to the close of the 15th century the Era current in Ceylon was reckoned from 483 B.C., which was the date of the *Parinibbāna* of Buddha.

In order to establish this theory, Mr. Senaveratne has endeavoured to disprove some admitted historical facts.

(i.) He states that Jayawardhanapura (Kótté), not Kurunégala, was the capital of Bhuvaneka Báhu the Third. In support of this contention Mr. Senaveratne refers to the so-called Adipola *Sannasa*, which is alleged to have been granted by a Bhuvaneka Báhu of Kótté in Śaka 1247, that is 1868 A.B. This *sannasa* was held to be a forgery by Mr. (now Sir Ponnambalam) Arunáchalam in the District Court of Chilaw, and also by the Judges of the Supreme Court.

It was one of the most clumsy forgeries that was ever produced. In fact it cannot be called a *sannasa*, or royal grant, at all, for according to its wording it has been written by the grantee himself.*

In support of the same contention Mr. Senaveratne refers to another *sannasa*, also pronounced to be a forgery, and further, to certain writings of tourists. It need hardly be said that documents condemned as forgeries, and writings of tourists, are no evidence against accredited Sinhalese records.

According to these, Jayawardhana Kótté was built by Alagak-konára during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III., between 1905 and 1915 A.B., i.e., about 30 or 40 years after the death of Bhuvaneka Báhu III.

(ii.) Mr. Senaveratne states that "it was Vijaya Báhu V., and not Vijaya Báhu VI., as is popularly supposed, who was carried away captive by the Chinese."

* The Adipola *Sannasa* was condemned not merely on the ground of historical discrepancy, but also for several other equally weighty reasons. For the Judgment see Appendix IV. of Sir P. Arunachalam's *Digest of Ceylon Civil Law*, Vol. I.—S. de S.

In my opinion* no Vijaya Báhu was ever carried captive. According to Chinese Chronicles, a Sinhalese King of the name of *Alagakkonár* was captured by the Chinese. This is corroborated by the contemporary and reliable Sinhalese record *Saddarmaratnákara* (frequently quoted of late), which states that Bhuvaneka Báhu V. was succeeded by Vira Báhu II. When Vira Alagakkónar, the eldest brother of the latter, attempted to oust him, he was defeated in a battle at Rayigama, and fled from the country. After a time he returned and reigned (presumably as a provincial rája) for 12 years, when he was treacherously taken prisoner by the Chinese.

According to the Chinese Chronicles, the date is 1408 A.D. The Sinhalese does not specify any particular date; but the facts stated refer to the same period. Those facts are:—Vira Báhu II. ascended the throne in 1934 A.B. His brother having failed (as stated) to oust Vira Báhu, fled from the country; but returned after a time, reigned for 12 years, and was then taken captive by the Chinese.

If we may allow three or four years for the period during which he was engaged in the endeavour to oust his brother and his absence from the country, we get 1951 A.B. as the date of the capture = 1408 (1951—543) A.D., reckoning the Buddha's Death from 543 B.C.

It is manifest, therefore, that in the early part of the 15th century, the Era current in Ceylon was reckoned from 543 B.C. and not from 483 B.C.

There is nothing to show positively that the Era in Ceylon was reckoned at any time from 483 B.C.

In an ancient astronomical work, written by a scholar named Anomadassi who lived in the reign of Parákrama Báhu II. in the 13th century, we are told that the Śaka Era plus 621 is equal to the Buddhist Era, and the Śaka Era plus 3179 equal to Káliyuga Era.

In the *Niyangampaya* inscription† we find all the three Eras referred to given, viz: Śaka 1295, Buddhist 1915, and Káliyuga 4474. When 621 is added to the Śaka Era of the inscription, we get the Buddhist Era, viz: $1295 + 621 = 1916$; and when 3179 is added to it we get the Káliyuga Era given, viz: $1295 + 3179 = 4474$. This inscription shows that, in the 14th century, the Era was reckoned from 543 B.C.; for, by subtracting each of the Eras given in the inscription from the present Eras, we get the same difference, i.e., 541.

It would be absurd to say that, when 61 years were added to the Buddhist Era, the Śaka and the Káliyuga Eras were also changed correspondingly, so as to maintain a difference

* See *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXII., No. 65, pp. 316-332, 367-372 for my reasons

† Bell, *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 343.

of 621 and 2558 respectively; for the Śaka Era and the Kāliyuga Era current in India are the same as now calculated in Ceylon.

SIMON DE SILVA.

APPENDIX K.

MR. JOHN M. SENAVERATNE'S REPLY.

Taken as a whole, the criticism on my Paper is disappointing. The Paper represented an attempt—the only complete attempt hitherto made, be it noted—to unravel patiently, among other things, the “tangled web” in which an important period of Ceylon History was inextricably woven.

“The period,” as Mudaliyār Guṇawardhana described it, “belongs comparatively to modern times, but is yet shrouded in great obscurity. Anyone trying to penetrate the darkness deserves our heartiest sympathy.”

“Sympathy” there has been very little, but of criticism a good deal, much of the latter arising, obviously, from the natural first prejudice against whatever tends to revolutionise long-settled notions, and partly from misunderstanding. And so it comes about that those who differ from me leave the position not much the better for their criticism, the “tangled web” remaining unravelled so far as they are concerned. None of my critics has covered the entire ground traversed by the Paper: most have touched but the fringe, or concerned themselves with, to use Mr. Codrington's words, “minor points.....immaterial to the main issue.” The one and, in my opinion, the only serious objection urged against the correctness of my theory is that based on the Kalyāṇi inscriptions, which Mr. Codrington puts forward with much cogency and which Mudaliyār Guṇawardhana has not failed to notice. I shall reply to this objection at the close of my remarks.

A few words on the Buddhist Era preparatory to dealing briefly with the Appendices *seriatim*.

The Buddhist Era.

I stated the grounds on which such eminent Oriental Scholars as Prof. Fleet, Prof. Geiger, Prof. Sylvain Lévi, Prof. Wickremasinghe and others assumed that the correct date for the *Parinirvāṇa* of Buddha was, not 543 B.C., but 483 B.C. The reply of my critics to this assumption is, not *proof* to the contrary, but *mere assertion*.

Says Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka (*Appendix E*): “I am not quite sure that the last word has yet been said on the subject.”

Mr. W. Charles de Silva (*Appendix I.*), the only other critic to join issue with the experts on this head, is so incautious as to be dogmatic. Like Ajax, he defies the lightning! "Dr. Fleet's view of the date of the Death of Buddha is incorrect; and so is that of Dr. Geiger, who, perhaps, had not the opportunity to read some of our books of the period which abound in allusions to the dates. If Prof. Wickremasinghe accepts the above views, he contradicts himself."

Now, whether Prof. Geiger may care to notice this gratuitous assumption of his comparative ignorance* (!) and Prof. Wickremasinghe condescend to defend himself, Mr. de Silva should at least have done Dr. Fleet the justice of reading thoroughly what he has written before venturing to criticise him. When Mr. de Silva is *au fait* with *all* Dr. Fleet's writings on the subject, he will, I feel sure, find good grounds for revising some of the opinions he now holds—opinions I myself shared till some three or four years ago.

Dr. Fleet, "an acknowledged authority on Indian chronological questions," urges valid reasons "for the faith that is in him," and so do Prof. Geiger and others. Only when Mr. Jayatilaka and Mr. Charles de Silva can do likewise will it be really open to them to raise the issue seriously. Till such time at least I lay fair claim to the authority of such recognised experts as justification for the position I have taken up in my Paper.

I turn now to the Appendices for such points as are worth comment:—

APPENDIX A.

I defer for the last the consideration of the important argument based on the synchronism supplied by the Kalyáni inscription. The rest of Mr. Codrington's interesting notes "are on minor points and are immaterial to the main issue."

APPENDIX B.

Mr. Corea raises no issue to which I can take exception or which is not fully dealt with in my Paper.

APPENDIX C.

The exact duration of the reign of Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu II. is a minor detail. Comment on the *sannasa* referred to must be deferred till we know more about it than Dr. Roberts discloses.

APPENDIX D.

The Ven. Śrī Nānissara's quotation from the *Wākyakarana* actually supports me, and is by no means contradictory as he imagines. For I say in my Paper: "The rule, then, relative

* Vide his *Dīpaṇṣa* and *Mahāṇṣa* for innumerable references to *almost all* "our books of the period which abound in allusions to the dates."

to the three Eras current in Ceylon up to the 15th century was this: *The Buddhist Era must be 620-1 years ahead of the Śaka Era.*"

Surely, there is no difference between this and Ven. Nānissara's quotation that "*by the addition of 621 to the Śaka Era, the Buddhist Era can be found with exquisite accuracy?*" The calculation I worked upon (*Vide* my Tables) was derived from the *Parōpākāraṇitaya*,* a 13th century astrological work, according to which

$$3179 + \text{Śaka Era} = \text{Kali Yuga.}$$

$$621 + \text{Śaka Era} = \text{Buddha Warsha.}$$

My authority and Ven. Nānissara's therefore agree "*with exquisite accuracy.*"

How comes it, then, if our sources are correct, that the results of our calculations are so diametrically opposed? There is something wrong somewhere. Let us see where the blunder has occurred. The Ven. Nānissara (quoting again from the *Wākyakarana*) says:—

"The present Kāli Era = 5016 (3179 + 1837), which is universally accepted without dispute. Therefore, by subtracting the present Buddhist Era from the Kāli Era, the exact date of the Death of the Buddha can be easily ascertained thus: 5016—2458 = 2558 *Buddha Warsha.*"

But if, as Ven. Nānissara makes out, Buddha's Death really took place in 2558 A.B., that is, in 643 B.C. (1915 + 643), he goes further than anyone has yet ventured to do. His calculation results in an excess of 160 years over the date (483 B.C.) adopted by Fleet, Geiger and others, and an excess of 100 years† over "the ancient historical date 543 or 544 B.C." which he, nevertheless, still favours as "the most accurate and authentic."

* This is an important Sanskrit work (in manuscript), the concluding stanza of which gives us the name of its author and indicates the period of time at which it was written:—

*Pratinurpati Mahā Vihāre nēthā
Kṣhīṭhi sura vāsa janīr muneendrasūnuh
Munīranavamadarsi nāmadhēyah
Paramakarot karanaṁ parōpākāraṇ.*

The chief of Pratirājadēva's Great Temple,
A Brahman by birth and a follower of the Buddha,
The monk bearing the name Anōmadassi
Has written, for others' benefit, this book called Karana.

† To illustrate the prevalent confusion, notably among the Buddhist clergy themselves, in respect of the Era reckoned from the date of the *Parinirvāna* of Buddha, I would refer to the evidence, in the Adipola *Sannasa* Case, of High Priest Dharmārāma and Upānanda Terunnānse, who sought to amend the date of the accession of Parākrama Báhu VI. from 1558 A.B. to 1858 A.B., that is, carry it *a hundred years back*. Ven. Nānissara now "goes one better" and carries the very date of the *Parinirvāna* (the historical one, I mean) *a hundred years back*, stoutly maintaining at the same time that any change in the "historical date" is a grave mistake!

APPENDIX E.

I stated, on good authority, that a certain *Vijaya Báhu* was carried away captive to China. To say that this statement "contradicts Sinhalese history" is a surprising assertion. Mr. Jayatilaka has evidently not read my Paper carefully. What I said was (p. 161): "The *Rájavaliya* is the only Sinhalese chronicle..... which makes mention of the capture of Vijaya Báhu by the Chinese." As for the seeming reference in the *Saddharmaratnākara*, vide the important note‡ on page 161 (of my Paper), for which I have the authority of Simon de Silva Mudaliyár, the Chief Sinhalese Translator to Government.

Mr. Jayatilaka considers it "absurd to suppose that a Śaka Era different to that of India was under any circumstances used in Ceylon." Yet the origin of the Ceylon Śaka Era is given in the *Rájavaliya* (pp. 44-45, Gunasékara's Edition) and is also quoted in my Paper (page 215). Does Mr. Jayatilaka know of any other single Sinhalese work which differs from the *Rájavaliya* account of the origin of the local Śaka Era?

On the subject of the Buddhist Era, Mr. Jayatilaka does not seem yet to have made up his mind one way or the other. While, however, "not quite sure that the last word has yet been said on the subject," he is nevertheless disposed to grant the possibility that "a mistake did really occur in our Chronology," and thinks it "most probable" that the "mistake" occurred during the period Prof. Wickremasinghe claims for it, i.e., the 11th century, and not during the 15th century as I maintain. If Mr. Jayatilaka goes no further than Prof. Wickremasinghe, it is yet considerable progress made. Mr. Jayatilaka is so far prepared to give up the traditional date as to think it "most probable" that the Era current in Ceylon up to the 11th century at least was reckoned from 483 B.C. This is satisfactory *pro tanto*.

APPENDIX F.

No reply necessary.

APPENDIX G.

Mudaliyár Gunawardhana writes: "In my Edition of the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava*, I gave reasons placing the *Parinirvāna* of Buddha in the year 478 B.C."

The actual difference, therefore, between the learned Mudaliyár's date and mine on which my whole Paper rests, is a matter of only 5 years! Yet he would damn my theory, because it repudiates the ancient historical date 543 B.C. for the *Parinirvāna* of Buddha, as "hopelessly unsound"!

Every argument urged against my theory by the Mudaliyár is an argument against his own (elaborated in his edition of

the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava* and now restated), which places the *Parinirvāna* of Buddha in the year 478 B.C.

The Mudaliyār should at any rate be consistent. Either his own date 478 B.C., or Dr. Fleet's date 483 B.C., or the "ancient historical date" 543 B.C. is correct: ALL THREE cannot be correct. The Mudaliyār himself repudiates the "historical" date, yet attacks me for doing likewise!

APPENDIX H.

There is nothing in this that calls for comment, except perhaps a curious contradiction, which suggests that the writer does not know his own mind in the matter of the date of Buddha's Death. Mr. Abesinghe starts with the assumption that 543 B.C. is the correct date and ends by adopting an approximation to Dr. Fleet's date of 483 B.C. He places "the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon in 236 B.C." According to the *Mahāvāṇsa* and the hitherto accepted tradition, this event took place about 307 B.C. Dr. Fleet's date for this is 246 B.C., and he gives a reason for it. Mr. Abesinghe goes further than Fleet by 10 years and further than the *Mahāvāṇsa* date by 70 years, and gives no reasons.

APPENDIX I.

I have already referred to Mr. Charles de Silva's remarks on the date of the *Parinirvāna* of Buddha. He misrepresents Dr. Fleet badly and then gravely takes credit for pointing out the latter's "mistakes." Much the same method is resorted to in combating other points in my Paper.

To give an illustration: Mr. de Silva gives the Végiriya inscription dates, viz: Śaka 1337 and A.B. 1957, and adds: "Both these dates.....with the *usual additions* (italics are mine) are converted into Śaka 1337 + 78 = A.C. 1415, B.V. 1957—543 = 1414. These dates cannot be so approximate unless the Death of the Buddha took place in 543 B.C. Hence the statement by Mr. Senaveratne in his Paper becomes falsified."

Why talk of "*usual additions*" to disprove my theory when my whole Paper, or rather *all* my dates, are worked out on *unusual* ones? I here repeat what I said in my Paper (p. 216), viz., to convert a Śaka date to A.C., one must add 139, and to convert the *Buddha Warsha* to A.C., one must subtract 483 B.C. How does this work out in regard to the Végiriya inscription dates? Simply thus: Śaka 1337 + 139 = A.C. 1476, B.V. 1957—483 = 1474 A.C. To quote, therefore, Mr. de Silva against himself,—"*these dates cannot be so approximate unless the Death of the Buddha took place*" in 483 B.C.

One more instance of this disingenuous kind of argument: Mr. de Silva says:—

“According to the *Laṅkātilaka* and *Gadalādeniya* inscriptions, *Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.* ascended the throne in Śaka 1266, which, converted to A.C., will give A.C. 1344. The date of the accession of the same King, according to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava* and the *Rājaraṭnākaraṇya*, is 1890 A.B. = A.C. 1347—a difference of 3 years only and not 61 as Mr. Senaveratne urges. If 483 B.C. is accepted for Buddha's Death, the date of accession of this King works out to A.C. 1407, which is contradictory to the said inscription.”

Yet Mr. de Silva must have known that, anent this point, I said in my Paper: “If the difference between the *Buddha* and *Śaka Warshas* may be taken as 625.....then the year of accession of *Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.* would be $1890 - 625 = 1265-6$, thus tallying with the date of the *Laṅkātilaka* inscription”; and he knew further that every Śaka date in my Paper is converted into A.C. by the addition of 139. Add this number to the date (1266) of the above inscription and we get 1405 ($1266 + 139$). The difference between this and 1407 is only two years. Where have I “urged a difference of 61 years” in this case?

Arguing on this misrepresentation, Mr. de Silva is next “led either to reject 483 B.C. as incorrect or else to consider these rock inscriptions as forgeries. The former undoubtedly is the proper alternative.” And so, “the correct date being thus established” to Mr. de Silva's satisfaction, he proceeds blithely on to—more misrepresentation!

As regards the word “Segara” in *Parākrama Báhu's sannasa* issued in 1518, it may be said in favour of Mr. de Silva's “probable explanation” that it is legitimate if ingenious. I prefer, however, to share the opinion—more reasonable to my mind—of Mr. Paul E. Pieris. But the point is not material to the main issue.

The point about “*Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál*” (also immaterial to the real issue, but having a peculiar interest of its own) is worth settling finally. Mr. de Silva is nothing if not bold to rashness. “In point of fact,” says he, “*Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál* was the post of Secretary under the Sinhalese Kings.....From the time of *Parākrama Báhu the Great*, the *Sanhas Tiruwarahan* family was a very influential one for nearly 200 years. The person who acted as the Secretary was chosen from this family and had his proper name, but signed as ‘*Sannas Tiruwarahan Perumálumha*.’”

How can this extraordinary medley be explained? Firstly, “*Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál* was the post of Secretary”; then the “post” becomes a “family” which regularly supplies “the person who acted as the Secretary.” On a parity of reasoning, “*Emerson Tennent*” was the “post” of Colonial Secretary. If his predecessor signed his name as “*P. Anstruther*,” it does not matter; he came of the “*Emerson Tennent* family” which regularly supplied “the person who acted as the (Colonial) Secretary.”!!

And so it comes about, according to Mr. de Silva, that Vijaya Siṅha Ekanáyaka Perumál of the Kappágoda inscription,* Gampola Perumál of the Beligala Viháre *Sannasa*,† Mundalipote Liyana Náthá of the Watarakgoda inscription,‡ Wickramasinghe Adigár of the Dēdigama inscription,§ Sanasiwatte Wakele Perumál of the Galgane Viháre *Sannasa*,|| Kula Perumál of the Kuṭṭangal Viháre *Sannasa*,¶ Sanhassiwanta Nainarumbha of the Wannipola *Sannasa*,** and Sivattá Nayináru and Vikrama Báhu Epá of the Alutnuwara Pillar Slab inscriptions††—to mention but a few—were all, firstly, “posts” of Secretary and then members of the “Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumál family,” even though they signed their own names instead of the grandiloquent “Sannas Tiruwarahan Perumálumha” !!!‡

For further example of Mr. de Silva’s methods, I will quote this paragraph:—

“That Vijaya Báhu VII. lived is proved by the Devundara *Sannasa* granted in 1518. Vijaya Báhu reigned for a short period in the South while his brother, Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX., reigned at Kótté 1505-27; and the Kelaniya inscription of the 19th year of this latter King does not allow us to ascribe it to any other King.”

Half a dozen distortions in as many lines! The Devundara *Sannasa* proves only the existence of a Vijaya Báhu, whether VI. or VII. of that ilk. Mr. Bell§§ himself admits the *possibility* that this Vijaya Báhu may be the VIth, though he favours Vijaya Báhu VII.

Vijaya Báhu VII. reigned *neither* “for a short period” *nor* “in the South.” This very Devundara *Sannasa* was granted in the “11th year” of his reign, and while “seated in the midst of the Mudaliyárs (of his court) on the lion-throne of the palace at Jayawardhana-Kótté.” Why does Mr. de Silva ignore these important facts in the *Sannasa*?

That Vijaya Báhu was no mere provincial ruler or sub-King holding sway “in the South,” as Mr. de Silva makes out,

* Kégalla Report, pp. 86-87.

† *Id.*, pp. 94-96.

‡ *Id.*, pp. 82-83.

§ *Id.*, pp. 84-85.

|| Laurie’s *Gazetteer*, Vol. I., p. 339.

¶ *Id.*, Vol. II., pp. 757-8.

** *Id.*, Vol. II., pp. 910-11.

†† Kégalla Report, pp. 80-81.

‡‡ This particular “Perumál” spelt his name in three different ways at least, “Tiruwarahan, Tiruwarangan and Tiruwarahap.” The Mámpe and Demaladúva *Sannas* (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXII., No. 65, pp. 271-3), which were both attested by him and granted to *Vijayarāja Palihawadana Sembahap Perumál*, show that there were other “Perumáls” who were neither “posts” nor members of the “Tiruwarahan family.” Waskaduwe Subhúti Náyaka Théró’s beautiful ola copy of the *Vissuddhi Magga* (C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXII., No. 65, p. 271) was written under the direction of “*Sembahap Perumál, Arachchi of Kitulgoda.*”

§§ Kégalla Report, p. 96.

is evident from the same *sannasa*, wherein he is described as "the illustrious *over-lord* (Chakrawarti) Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Vijaya Báhu, the chief of the nine-gems and lord of *Tri-Siṅhala*."

Against the testimony of Mr. de Silva, that "Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. reigned at Kótté 1505-27," we have the more reliable testimony of the Dondra inscription,* which says that Vijaya Báhu ascended the throne in 1510, ruling for 11 years at least as we know from the Devundara *Sannasa*. Were both these "brothers" then playing "Box and Cox" in their rule at Kótté, the one by day, the other by night?

And if this same Devundara *Sannasa* of Vijaya Báhu happens to be attested by "Sannas Tiruwarahan Perumál," as it is in point of fact, does Mr. de Silva mean to say that this historic "family" existed contemporaneously "in the South" as in the West?

APPENDIX J.

Simon de Silva Mudaliyár accuses me of having referred to "certain writings of tourists." Very good: I am prepared to give up my whole theory if the Mudaliyár can point to an argument based on such "writings," or can point to *any single word in any page of the whole Paper* quoted from any "tourist" whomsoever.

The rest of the learned Mudaliyár's "Note" touches points which have already been answered. I will only remind him of his *volte face*. He says now (1914):—

"There is nothing to show positively that the Era in Ceylon was reckoned at any time from 483 B.C."

Yet only ten years ago, when giving evidence as an expert in the District Court of Chilaw in the Adipola *Sannasa* case, the Mudaliyár was positive that "the Era in Ceylon was reckoned from 483 B.C." (Judgment, July 8, 1904).

The Kalyáni Inscriptions.

I come finally to the synchronism supplied by the Kalyáni inscription, upon which Mr. Codrington (*Appendix A.*) urges a valid argument, which loses nothing in clearness or force by its conciseness. Gunawardhana Mudaliyár (*Appendix G.*) elaborates the same objection in greater detail. It is the one and only strong point *contra* so far urged material to the main issue of my Paper; and is, therefore, entitled to serious consideration.

The Kalyáni inscription gives 1475 A.D. as the date of the important mission which King Dharmacheti of Rāmaññadésa

* *C. B. R. A. S. Journal* for 1870-71, pp. 26-27; Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, No. 162, pp. 107, 140; *C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, No. 65 of 1912, p. 275, note 21.

(the Talaing country) sent to Ceylon. What, however, is very little known in Ceylon is that at least three years earlier, that is, in 1472 (the *real* date is probably very much earlier still), being anxious to obtain an exact description of the places sanctified by the Buddha's presence and of such monuments built on, or near, them as were still extant, King Dhammacheti sent, under the leadership of a Sinhalese trader resident at Pegu, a large party of Talaings, amongst whom were many skilful artists, to visit the Holy Land of Buddhism and report on it.

The relation of this expedition is given at length in the Burmese History of King Dhammacheti, *Dhammachetiman athuppatti* (manuscript, page 48 ff.). It is there that this date, 1472, is given. But the Yathemyo inscription says that the Yathemyo convent was consecrated in 1464 (see paragraph 33), and *there is no question that this hermit-city (Yathemyo) was built AFTER the return of the pilgrimage which went to Ceylon.**

So, then, the matter resolves itself into this: The Kalyáni inscription date for the mission to Ceylon is contradicted by the Yathemyo inscription, which is probably not a whit less important nor less authoritative than the other, and any chronological argument based on the Kalyáni inscription must necessarily cut both ways and therefore is of doubtful value. The result is that the latter inscription lacks the authority to prove or disprove anything chronological at least, and it must continue to bear this disqualification till the accuracy of its date is vindicated by other evidence than is at present available.

Conclusion.

What, then, is the situation created by my Paper and the criticism it has evoked? Just this: Some of the greatest Oriental authorities now living—Professors like Dr. Fleet, Dr. Geiger and others—are agreed that the Parinirwána of Buddha took place in 483 B.C., and that the Ceylon tradition, which places this event in 543 B.C., is wrong by 60 years. Prof. Sylvain Lévi and the late Mr. Ayrton, while similarly agreed on this point, go further and show the existence in Ceylon, in the 4th century A.D., of an Era reckoned from 483 B.C.

The question then became pertinent: How long did this Era last in Ceylon; or, to put it thus, when did the new and incorrect date of 543 B.C. oust the other? Professor Wickremasinghe, the only Sinhalese scholar who has so far endeavoured to test the correctness of the 483 B.C. in

* *Vide* Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Burma for the year ending March 31st, 1914, p. 11, note 2. *Cf.* also *Shwe-Modo Rájávansamon*, p. 188 ff. and *Dhammacheti Mahāpitakadhāra dutiya*, p. 45 ff.

relation to Ceylon Chronology, found traces of the continued existence of the same Era at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. My Paper sought no more than to go four centuries beyond the point at which Professor Wickremasinghe stopped, *i.e.*, to prove the existence in Ceylon, until the close of the 15th century A.D., of the old Era reckoned from 483 B.C. Against this only one serious objection has been urged, *viz.*, the Burmese Kalyáni inscription; and this I have explained to be unreliable as a chronological guide.

I may therefore venture to hold that my theory stands unrefuted, for the present at any rate, since I find nothing in the criticism to warrant a revision of opinion on my part.

Nevertheless, I desire in conclusion emphatically to repeat what I said at the conclusion of my Paper: "*I am not so unreasonably wedded to my theory*" as to believe that I must necessarily be right. Good and sufficient arguments there may still be to prove its untenability, but those arguments have not yet been urged. It will be time enough to give up my theory when its incorrectness has been demonstrated by something more than the bare opinion of critics, *viz.*, historical proof.

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 19, 1914.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M. A. Cantab.,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. E. M. J. Abeyesingha.	Mr. C. H. Jolliffe, A.M.I.M.E.
„ H. T. Cartwright.	Revd. Father Le Goc, B.A.,
„ G. J. de Silva.	B.Sc., O.M.I.
„ A. Simon de Silva.	Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S.
Ven. F. H. de Winton.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. C. H. Z. Fernando, B.A.,	Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.
LL.B.	„ D. Nusserwanjee.
„ A. H. Gomes.	„ P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
„ C. A. Hare.	„ D. J. Senaratna.
„ C. W. Horsfall.	„ R. A. P. Siriwardana,
	Barrister-at-Law.

Messrs. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S., and Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.,
Hony. Secretaries.

Visitors: Ten ladies and twenty-two gentlemen.

Business:

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on 31st July, 1914.

2. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

3. Laid on the table books and parts of periodicals received since the last General Meeting.

4. The Chairman in introducing the lecturer, Mr. Frederick Lewis, said:—The subject of to-night's lecture is one of much interest, and the lecturer is one who is well qualified to deal with it. We in Ceylon are in the rather unique position of having among us one of the most primitive races in the world, the Veddás, who from their low order of intelligence and primitive habits have from the earliest times been a fertile source of interest to the curious traveller as well as to the student of ethnology. Many have written about them—Greeks and Romans, Arabs and Chinese, down to modern scientists, such as Virchow, the brothers Sarasin and Seligmann—but the interest in the subject is far from exhausted. Mr. Lewis has had special opportunities of studying the Veddás in his wanderings as an

officer of the Forest Department and of the Land Settlement Department and has penetrated nooks and corners unknown to many of us and has become familiar with strange men and things. He has been from time to time good enough to give this Society the results of his researches on many different subjects, setting an excellent example to all public servants, who in the course of their duties acquire varied knowledge of matters of interest to our Society but, I regret to say, have not been as helpful to us as they might be. I doubt not that the lecture he is going to deliver to us will be an excellent and instructive one and will add to the weight of our obligations to him.

5. Mr. Frederick Lewis then delivered the following lecture.

NOTES ON AN EXPLORATION IN EASTERN UVA, AND SOUTHERN PANAMA PATTU.

BY FREDERICK LEWIS, F.L.S.

In July and August of this year (1914) I had occasion to make a careful inspection of the eastern part of the Uva Province, and that portion of the Panama Pattu, in the Eastern Province, that lies to the south of the Heda-oya, up to the limits of the Southern Province.

This exploration afforded me the opportunity of examining, with some detail, certain places that are not particularly well known, and I venture to offer to this Society some of my notes, that I trust may be of interest.

It may be desirable, at the outset of this Paper, to give an outline of the country explored, geographically speaking, in order that one can locate the places referred to for later reference.

Taking Siyambala Anduwa, on the road from Moneragalla to Potuvil, as a start-point, I proceeded north-east, to the provincial limit of the Eastern Province, and from thence northward to Waragama, and from there to Buddama.

Working southward, I followed close to the westward limit of the Maha Weḍdi Raṭa till I reached the Heda-oya. This circuit—during which I explored the component villages—covers all the chiefly inhabited area of the Maha Weḍdi Raṭa, or Great Veḍḍa Country, if we may accept that translation of the name of this region.

The southward portion of this Kóralé is, roughly speaking, limited by the Wila-oya that falls into the sea to the north of Panama, and is very thinly populated along a strip to the westward, bringing in two desolate villages called Hiripitiya

and Kalu Obba, after which the country is unoccupied from the last named place to the Panama Pattu limits.

From Siyambala Anduwa I next proceeded to Potuvil, the modern capital of the Panama Pattu, and from thence I worked south to the mouth of the Kumbukkan River, and along that stream to Kebillitta in the Uva Province, and again turned north, till I reached the Ūra-oya that flows, roughly, northwards, till it falls into the Heda-oya, some miles westward of Siyambala Anduwa, thus completing the circuit.

It will be noted that the area traversed includes the whole of the Maha Wēddi Raṭa, approximately one-third of the Buttala Wēddi Raṭa, and, say, half of the Panama Pattu, and in so doing it embraced a great portion of the country shown as LAMBA KARNA, according to Sanscrit, Pāli, and Sinhalese authorities, or BOCANI, according to Ptolemy and Pliny.*

It is also of interest to note, that the Kumbukkan River is, according to Ptolemy, called the Baracus Fluvius, and in a quaint, undated map (*Tabula Asiæ XII.*), the same appears.

It would appear from the map of Ceylon appended to Knox's Historical Relation, probably compiled about 1681, that while the Kumbukkan river is unmistakably shown, it is unnamed, though "Coemena" is indicated at a spot a few miles to the north of its mouth. The present village of Kumani is situated on the north bank of the Kumbukkan, close to its entrance into the sea. Again, a French map of 1700 shows this river, and gives as its name Kooboekan-oya, and in the *Carte de l' Isla de Ceylon*, compiled in 1782, we find the river again indicated.

It would appear from this last mentioned map, that practically the whole area that my Paper embraces come within "Paunua," or "Panua," that then extended to the Yattakinda division of Uva, and in a southerly direction

* See Map of Taprobane according to Ptolemy and Pliny in Sir E. Tennent's *Ceylon*. Vol. I. (5th Edition, 1860.)

it was bounded by the "Waluwe" river, thus bringing into Panama the Kataragama country.

Knox's map, while reducing the area to something more like its present limits, calls it *Panova Regnum*, with "Panova"—the modern Panama—as its capital

Passing to more modern maps of Ceylon, we find in Schneider's map of 1822 that the *Veḍḍá* country is shown as *Bintenna*, to the north of *Vellassa*, but in that map our present day divisions cannot be clearly followed.

On leaving *Siyambala Anduwa*, one sees first the high, abrupt mountain called *Degalhela*, to which I have previously referred (See *Journal of R.A.S.*, Vol XXI., No. 61, p. 170), but I may add that I had the opportunity of seeing the "*Veḍḍá Pass*," to-day known as *Katupellellagalla*, through which it is stated that the ancient road to *Buttala* went. This "pass" consists of an abrupt ridge of rock through which is a low gap, the whole being surrounded by high forest. This gap, according to local tradition, was closed by a sort of door made of thorns (*Katu-pellella*), and was guarded by armed *Veḍḍás*, who allowed no travellers to pass without their making a contribution in betel leaves and tobacco, by way of toll.

Close to this spot I found some short monoliths of stone, closely arranged in a quadrangular form, as if to support a raised wooden floor. The quadrangle occupies only a small space, and its sides are nearly north and south. The stones above ground measure 3 ft. × 12 in. × 9 in. and are well cut.

On emerging from the forest round the base of *Degalhela*, one comes into a large area of chena land to the south of the *Puskiwule-oya*, a stream that rises on the western flank of the *Westminster Abbey hills*. Crossing this stream the next place of any importance reached is *Newugala*, where there is a tank, near which I found, on a large rock, a quaintly cut outline of a "Lion," though the features would more closely resemble those of a tiger, with very prominent ears.

No information could be given me as to this rock-sketch, but it is supposed by the people to be of great antiquity.

The present dwellings at this place are little better than sheds, the walls being in most cases composed entirely of bark, and the roofs of thatch. I was shown here a piece of cloth measuring 4 yards by 1, made by Berawa people of Dambagalla two generations ago. It was made of hand-spun thread, very closely woven, with a simple pattern in red near the edge, to form a sort of ornamental border. The cloth, though not particularly thick, was enormously strong, and its owner, a man of about 60, informed me that he obtained it from his father, but how long the latter had it he did not know. Its original price was 12 fanams (75 cents). My informant added, with some pride, that such cloth was not made now!

On reaching Bowela, the village at the northern foot of the Westminster Abbey range, I noticed that the people, while professing to be Goigama folk, freely conversed with each other in Tamil, though the subject of their remarks—cattle—was not such as to lead me to suppose they did not wish me to understand what they were talking about.

From Bowela I visited Govinda-hela, or as it is better known, “ Westminster Abbéy.”

I have, in my Paper on the “ Lesser known hills of the Batticaloa District and Lower Uva ” (Journal of the R.A.S. Vol. XXI., No. 61, p. 167), described this historical fortress, built by Bhuvaneka Báhu, who was “ the ruler and governor of the land ” in the reign of Magha (1224—1238), but I desire to supplement my remarks in that Paper by adding a few fresh details.

The “ tower ” (Plate I.), which forms the northern end of the Westminster Abbey range, is practically flanked on all sides by a precipice of varying height, from a minimum of about 200 feet on the south, to about 1,200 feet on the western face. On the east, below the “ tower,” are a number of caves, of varying sizes, the smallest being about

46 feet across the mouth, by 18 feet from the drip-ledge to the floor.

This cave has a well cut drip-ledge with an inscription, of which with some difficulty I copied a few letters (Plate VII. *b*.)

It had also the remains of some plastering that indicated a colored design, but so decayed that I could not follow its details.

Higher up, behind this cave, was a second, of very much larger proportions, with a deep drip-ledge and inscription. A third and still larger cave (Plate III.) lay at the back of the two former, and nearly overlooked them. This, like the other two, had a deeply cut drip-ledge, while in the interior there were masses of *debris* that presumably formed a recumbent figure of Buddha, judging from the outline that can still be followed. Fragments of plastering still remain attached to the mouth of the cave, with traces of color, but these are too disconnected to enable one to trace the original design, while the face of the cut stone below the drip-ledge was too high above me to trace the inscription—if any—that faced eastward.

Turning southward and climbing over masses of fallen rock, I reached an enormous mass of vertical rock, with an overhanging roof that rises nearly perpendicularly to the summit of the “tower.” This forms the highest and last of the caves on the eastern flank of the “tower,” and the illustration (Plate IV.) will be found of assistance in forming some idea of its vast magnitude.

Passing under this projecting roof of rock, the path—if path it can be called—rises at a sharp angle to a narrow ridge, which might, not inappropriately, be called the “ridge plate” of the “Abbey” roof, above which is the lowest precipice, connected with the top of the actual “tower.” Up this I placed seven ladders, making use of ledges and crevices, till I reached the final summit of the mountain.

The reservoir, or probably bathing-*Pokuna* on the western side of the rock summit, to which I referred in my previous

Paper, measures 23 ft. 2 ins. by 14 ft. and its remains indicate excellent construction. (Plate V.) The largest reservoir, of the interior of which I secured a photo (Plate VI.), was probably over 100 ft. across when full of water, and evidently was for the use of the people who occupied the fortification and the buildings, of which to-day only masses of brick and tile, in ruins, remain.

A third "pokuna," close to the first that I have now mentioned, is cut out of the living rock, and measures 9 ft. by 4 ft. 6 ins., with a probable depth of 4 feet. Close to it again is what I take to be a seat, measuring 6 ft. 8 ins. by 5 ft. 9 ins., cut out of the rock itself and from which a magnificent view can be obtained of the country to the north and west.

It is of interest to note that if any ladder approaches to the summit of this mountain were destroyed, the summit would be still left as impregnable, much like what is the case at Sigiri, though Govinda-hela mountain does not possess the elaborate cutting of ledges and terraces that add so much to the interest of the latter fortress. Both are alike, in having no natural water-supply, thus requiring special arrangements for its conservation.

From Bowela I proceeded to Waragama—a picturesque village almost enclosed by masses of rocky hills, the chief of which is the needle-pointed mountain of Wadinagala that forms the northern limit of the Maha Weddi Rata.

To the westward of Waragama is the interesting temple of Buddama. Here the vihara is within a cave, of which there are three in close proximity. The cave is closed at the mouth by a wall, within which is the image compartment, and where there is a recumbent Buddha of about 21 ft. in length. The work is said to be of great antiquity, and was restored from time to time. A second cave of much smaller dimensions, called the "Hín Vihára," stands between the present pansala and the vihara proper and round its mouth is a prominent drip-ledge, below which is an inscription of which I secured a rough sketch (Plate VII. a).

The third cave lies further to the westward of the other two, but is not now in use or occupation. The prevailing idea here is that these places of worship, and their dagobas were of Kawantissa's time, but I remarked that the name Kawantissa appeared to be the only historical one that the priests of this locality know, and hence it is associated with all the Buddhistic places that I visited in this expedition.

I may however mention that three dagobas that I visited, at Manawela, Kandankettiya and Wattegama, are all of the pyramidal cone type, instead of the familiar dome-shaped figures, such as at Mihintale, Anuradhapura and elsewhere, but more closely approximated the outlines of the Kelaniya Dagoba, that Parker states* was erected by King Yatthala-Tissa before the end of the third century B. C.

This monarch was a nephew of Devanam-piya Tissa, and Kavantissa was a contemporary Prince, who reigned at Magama, so that if the local belief is founded on fact, added to the circumstance that the form of dagoba is analogous to that built at Kelaniya, we are probably entitled to believe that these Wēdi Raṭa dagobas are pre-Christian in date of construction.

From Buddama I proceeded to Kandankettiya, where there is another small vihara surrounded by several remains of early stone work. The priest being absent at the time of my visit I did not explore the inside of this temple, but I may perhaps be allowed to draw attention to two curious examples of angels†, in relief, on the western wall of the building. These are male and female, and remarkably well moulded, except for the curious fact that each possessed but a solitary wing. A painting on the wall indicated the sun, and moon with a hare in it, probably emblematical of eternity, with an addition, in the case of the moon, of a demon presenting to it another hare.

* "Ancient Ceylon," p. 316-7, fig. 89.

† See Appendix, Note (a).

From Siyambala Anduwa I proceeded to the ruined dagoba at Namaluwahela* and I succeeded in getting a photo of a part of its base (Plate VIII.). Near the foot of this ruin is a large "Malpúja-galla" measuring 10 ft. 10 ins. by 4 ft 3 ins., made from a single stone, near which are a number of very perfect bricks, of which I took the measurements. These are:—
 (a) 1 ft. 6 ins. \times 9 ins. \times 2½ ins.; (b) 1 ft. 6 ins. \times 9 ins. \times 3 ins.;
 (c) 1 ft. 5 ins. \times 8¼ ins. \times 2¾ ins.; and (d) 1 ft. 5 ins. \times 9 ins. \times 2¾ ins.; or of a size that, according to Mr. Parker, points to a pre-Christian period.

These bricks are still in perfect preservation, where they have not been cracked by falling, and do not appear to have been set in mortar.

On reaching Potuvil—Pettin in a map of 1700—I had the opportunity of visiting Sataravalli-kalúttu-malai on the south bank of the Naval-arú. This interesting spot commands the entrance to the river just mentioned, and is flanked on the east by the sea, and on the south by a small chain of rocky hills, from which the Westminster Abbey mountain is clearly visible.

On a low ridge of rock a short distance to the north of the chain of hills just mentioned, the rock has steps cut out of it on its southern slope, but I found no other marks, except where an attempt had been made to wedge out pieces of stone. Between this lower ridge of rock, and the chain on the south, I found a brick-built structure with remarkable thickness of wall. In shape the structure is, roughly, quadrangular, with walls of considerable height, made entirely of brick, the sizes of which I found to average 1 ft. 6 ins. \times 9 ins. \times 2¾ ins. arranged in a regular bond. but apparently without any mortaring. In this respect, this brick-work compares with that at Namalu-hela.

Close to the brick building, I found a cave with a drip-ledge and remains of decoration plastering. The cave was subdivided in three compartments by low walls, and had a

* See R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXI., for 1908, p. 173.

north-westerly outlook. Plate IX. shows part of the brick building concerning which I could get no very definite local history. This place may have been either a fort to guard the mouth of the river and Arugam Bay, as it is suitably situated, or a place of worship.

Proceeding to Panama, and from thence to Okanda (pronounced in Tamil Uhande) I was able to follow a course that is taken by pilgrims, who proceed by this path to Kumani and thence to the famous Kataragama Temple of Skanda, who was the husband of the Goddess Valliyamma. At Panama I had the good fortune to meet with a man, whose unusual appearance led me to enquire as to his origin, and he admitted freely that though he had adopted the name of Dissan Hamy, he was the grandson of Welagammahé, who was a real Vēddá,* who resided with his clan in the Lenama country, on the north side of the lower Kumbukkan river.

From this man I received a considerable amount of information that I venture to record, as being both of interest, as well as corroborative of our knowledge of this remarkable race, who once inhabited the south-east of Ceylon.

Dissan Hamy's story is, that his grand-parents belonged to a clan, or Waruge, who lived in a wild state in the Lenama forests, but in time those who survived of this clan became reconciled to their Sinhalese neighbours, and at last came to associate with them and ultimately, by marrying and intermarrying, they abandoned their forest life and settled in and around Salawe, or the Hallowa Rata.

He stated that his grand-parents lived in caves, as their parents had done. They lived mostly on the flesh of animals, such as pig, deer, monkeys, squirrels and iguanas.

They hunted in small parties, and they always kept dogs to assist in the chase. They used bows and arrows, and sometimes spears, but the women took no part in hunting, and only received such fragments of meat, as their husbands *threw at them!* Their bows were usually about 8 feet long,

* See Appendix Note (b).

made of Dunamadala,* and the arrows of Kobba† or Hibbotu,‡ the latter tipped with iron arrow heads, that they procured by barter.

The bow-string was made from Niyanda,§ while the length of the arrow was as much as a man could pull his bow, with his right hand. This would appear to be about 4 feet.

The men and women wore no clothing, except on ceremonial occasions, when the former wore a sort of loin-cloth made out of the bark of the Ritti tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*), and the latter used a sort of skirt of leaves attached to a string belt, round the waist.

These Veddás wore no ornaments, such as rings, either in the ears, or on the fingers, but a necklace of shells ("bellan") was sometimes worn by the younger women. They did not sing, nor did they laugh, but for amusement they would toss leaves in the air, in order to watch how these would flutter to the ground.

They practised "Mantras" as a protection against wild beasts, or to charm certain animals to come within shooting distance.

The only domestic animal was the dog, which was carefully preserved, and given pet names.

The women were kept in a rigid state of subjugation, and could not converse with any person other than their own relations or husbands: any departure from this rule being punished by instant death. The children were born in the residing caves, no separate place being set apart for such domestic events.

At death, a form of grave was dug, and the body was laid therein, the grave being covered with thorns to keep off jackals and other wild beasts. No particular attention was paid to the form of grave, except that the body was placed with the head towards the south.

* *Stereospermum Chelonoides*—one of the Bignoniace.

† *Allophylus Cobbe*—a Sapindaceous plant.

‡ I have not identified this.

§ *Sansevieria Zeylanica*.

The Vēddás believed in Yakkus, in so far as certain of those spirits caused sickness or scarcity, while the benevolent Yakku protected them from dangerous animals, snakes, &c.

They had no knowledge of time, or of the days of the week, all they knew being that time was divided into light and darkness, at regular intervals.

Fire was obtained by drilling a piece of Velaṇ wood* with a second stick of the same species, placing round the drilling rod tinder made from Warra floss† and finely crushed leaves.

The flint and steel was also used, but this appears to have been during the period of transition from the wild to the civilised stage of Vēddá evolution. Houses were not built, but shelters of leaves were sometimes constructed, usually to hide behind when hunting than for any other purpose.

Fish were caught by "kraaling," but the line and hook, or net, were unknown.

For purposes of obtaining iron arrow heads, or tobacco, which was chewed to keep off hunger or thirst, a form of barter was the method. This was done by the Vēddá clearing a small space under a tree in the neighbourhood of a village, and there hanging up some meat, or a vessel containing honey, after which the Vēddá would retire into the forest. The trader in arrows or tobacco on finding some meat thus hung up to a tree branch, would replace this by hanging up tobacco or arrows or both, as the case might be, and thus the purchase was effected, without any of the parties being present. Should the merchant attempt to take the meat unpaid for, he would be watched by the Vēddá till a favourable opportunity occurred of shooting him; so honesty was found to be the best policy.

Beside the instruments of the chase, the early Vēddá had no other implements than the axe, which was always small.

* *Pterospermum Suberiafolium*—one of the *Sterculiaciæ*.

† *Calotropis Gigantea*—a common *Asclepiad*.

Of names, Dissan Hamy informed me that the commoner among Veddā males were:—Saranagammahè, elagammahè, Karakolagammahè, Pothanagammahè; and of females:—Pothani and Mahapothani were the commonest.

He also told me, that no clan, or member of any one clan, could go into the country occupied by another.

If by accident a man lost his way in the forest and wandered into a neighbouring clan-area, the man was caught and closely watched, to see if his conduct was *bona-fide*, and if it was, he was permitted to return. On the other hand, if his conduct was suspicious, he was shot immediately.

Families were large, but infantile mortality was high. Women became mothers at 14.

I was able to see Dissan Hamy's brother and two sisters, and I took photos of these individuals, but by a stroke of exceeding bad luck, the films that I made use of on this occasion were hopelessly spoiled, and I was unable to secure a single picture.

I am, therefore, obliged to fall back on a description of this interesting Veddā descendant, which I give to the best of my ability:—

Dissan Hamy is the eldest of a family of four, two of whom are sisters.

He is a slim, spare-built man of about 48 years of age, and he stands close on 5 foot 10 high. His hair is about 8 inches long, and stands out in a sort of porcupine quill order, but is slightly "frizzy," and is not tied in a knot.

His brother's hair is exactly the same. The forehead is low with thin eyebrows and dark brown eyes, well back in the head, but curiously restless and alert. The moustache is thin and scanty, while the beard is only a short, thin sort of goatee appendage to the chin.

The general caste of feature is reminiscent of the North American Indian, in that the nose and cheek bones are strongly pronounced.

The legs and arms are thin and very muscular, but markedly hairless. The chest is narrow, and full; this again is quite hairless in both brothers, while the skin is of a brown black color in the elder brother, and slightly fairer in the younger.

The sisters are rather short women, with regular features, low brows, and slender limbs. In both, the hair is comparatively short; eyes dark brown, and nostrils thin and widely curved. Both these women are below the normal height of Sinhalese women, and had poor figures, as compared with the latter.

In travelling through the forest with me, I noticed that Dissan Hamy would not use his knife to cut down any twig or branch that crossed the path: he invariably bent or snapped them with his fingers. His knowledge of "spoor" was remarkable, his quick eye at once detecting any animal mark, and he would point out, by the spacing between foot-marks, if the animal was walking slowly, or rapidly.

I found that his knowledge of plants was remarkable, and an outstanding characteristic was, that when he could not name a plant, he would immediately say so—a delightful contrast to most Sinhalese in the western part of this Island.

I now come to a point that I venture to consider is of great interest, and I beg it to be understood that I am only recording the evidence of persons whom I questioned, quite independently of each other, and at places long distances apart. I refer to the evidence of a once existing race of pygmy people, called the *Nittawo*.*

I am indebted to Mr. Codrington, C.C.S., for my first hearing the name, and on doing so, I communicated with several gentlemen who are learned in matters relating to Ceylon, but no one of these could supply me with any information, except Mr. Codrington himself. I next questioned a headman near Siyambala Anduwa about the *Nittawo*,* and was surprised to hear him say that he had heard his father allege that there was once a race of *little people* of this name, who

* "Mitto."

lived in the country near Mandagala that was called Lenama. Except that they were very short, and very dangerous, he knew no more.

I next inquired from Dissan Hamy if he knew anything about them, and he promptly replied in the affirmative, adding that his grandfather took part in turning out a troop of these people, who were living in the Lenama country, about a day's journey north-west of Bargurey.

I then asked him for a description of these creatures, and I took down the following statement:—

“ They were a little people about so high (here the witness indicated a height of about 3 feet) who lived in small gangs of 10 or 20 or more. The legs of these people were hairy like wanduros (‘ wanduro-wāgé ’), but the upper part of the body was human-like, while they walked erect. They had no tails, and were completely naked. Their arms were short, with strong hands and long, powerful nails (witness described the talon of an eagle, bending his finger into the form of a hook, to illustrate his description) with which they tore to pieces the animals that they caught. These consisted of small animals, such as the mouse deer, the hare, squirrel, iguana and tortoise. They could only capture animals by surrounding them, and for that reason they lived in small troops. They lived in caves, hollow trees, and crevices. The females were shorter than the males. They spoke a language that was not loud—like the twittering of birds—but was understood by some of the Veddás. The Nittawo* were very much afraid of dogs, because they knew the Veddás used them and also bows and arrows, against which they could not compete. They were also afraid of the buffaloe.

“ They never came near the sea, but confined themselves to the forest country.

“ If they came on a sleeping Veddá, they fell on him in a mass and disemboweled him at once with their “ talons ”,

* “ Mitto.”

and for that reason the Vēddās spared them not, though they feared them."

I specially asked my informant if these people carried any arms, and was answered in the negative.

About ten days after I had taken down in writing this remarkable story, at a place on the eastern limits of the Lenama country, I was at a village called Waradeniyawa, that is at the opposite end, that is, at the western end of that region, where Dissan Hamy did not accompany me.

Here I asked to see the oldest inhabitant of the place, and after questioning him as to his age—a point on which he was by no means clear, except that he was over 70—I asked him if he had ever heard of the "Nittawo,*" and he immediately pointed towards the east, and said, "they lived there in the Lenama country."

He next described these people in words almost identical with Dissan Hamy's, and added that in his grandfather's time, the wild Vēddās destroyed them by burning them out of their caves, as they were afraid of them.

His details, as to sizes of males and females, agreed with the description I had and his whole story was given without any hesitation or effort.

Later on, unknown to any of my earlier informants, I questioned the Korala of the Buttala Wēddi Rāṭa as to his knowledge of these people, and he admitted that he had also heard of their existence and that about four generations ago, they lived in a country now called the Deyane Kelle and that they were a short people with hairy legs. There were none now.

I express no opinion on this strange story, beyond saying that if it was all a pure invention, it is remarkable and significant that each independent witness should, unknown to the other, give the same version.

The village of Kumani, to which I have referred, appears to correspond with Gonagramuka, according to the Sanscrit

* "Miṭṭo."

authorities (see Tennent's map) and was possibly a place of some trade in those far-off days, while in a map of 1700, the name changes to Memone. To-day it is a poor village with a total population of 36 persons. It is remarkable however that three very large Bo trees (*Ficus religiosa*) still exist here, beside a few venerable palmyrah palms.

From Kumani westward, following up the course of the Kumbukkan river to Kabillitta, not a single human habitation is to be found, though ruined anicuts afford ample proof that this was once a populous locality.

Kabillitta is equally abandoned, and turning northward, across an agonizingly dry country, not a soul will be found till one reaches the small village of Agalla—a 10-hour march through a waterless land.

We next find, after passing a few isolated villages, the large village of Wattegama where there is a temple and a large dagoba.

The rock opposite the temple, on its south, has steps cut on its face, and an exposed inscription, of which I obtained a very defective copy (Plate VII. c).

The image room, or vihara, is a small, nearly square building, within a second or outer wall. On the inside of this wall, there are a number of quaint paintings, one of which on the right-hand side of the doorway is conspicuous: It represents a European wearing a low helmet hat, carrying over his right-arm a gun, while the left-hand is raised to his hat, in obvious salutation of a much dressed, and be-combed Singhalese gentleman, who is saluting with his right-hand, while holding an open book in his left. The European wears side whiskers, and has a curious caricature likeness to Sir Henry Ward, with behind him four European soldiers carrying muskets, and wearing the head-dress of soldiers of Wellington's period.* I was informed that the present temple was rebuilt about 60

* See illustration facing page 208 in "With Napoleon at Waterloo," by E. Bruce Low.

years ago, and it is curious to note that these paintings should, beside reproducing representations of demons, tortures, processions, and animals, find a place for what appears to have been an event connected with our own countrymen, though I was unable to discover if anything was known of the event depicted here.

I find however, in his speech to Council on the 28th July, 1858, Sir Henry Ward refers to his eastern and southern tour as being the longest he had up to then undertaken, so that possibly the Wattegama artist may have attempted to delineate some event of that occasion in his work here, of which he had been a much impressed spectator.

I fear I have detained you, Sir, and ladies and gentlemen too long with these rough notes, but I trust that some more careful and competent observer than myself will be able to explore more thoroughly and scientifically the places and things I have so feebly and indifferently attempted to describe, and but for the kindness of Mr. Pickering in lending me his camera, I should have been unable adequately to have illustrated.

My obligations are also due to the Acting Surveyor-General for kindly reproducing a map of the area I traversed.

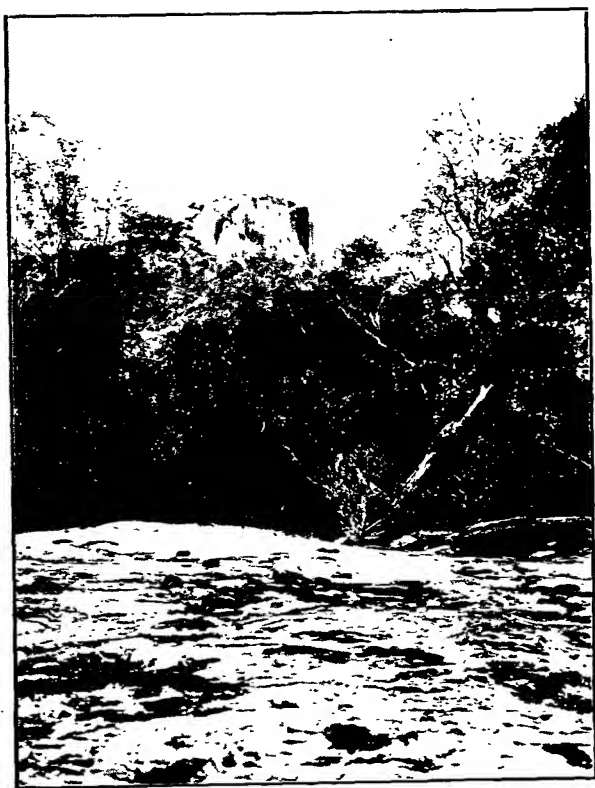
My slide-pictures were made for me by the Hopetoun Studio and I am under a deep obligation to Father Le Goc for his kindness in permitting his lamp to be used.

APPENDIX.

Note (a)—The local name for the figures on the wall of the temple at Kandanketiya is Kinduro (කිදුරු) which, according to Clough, is a "kind of fabulous being, the upper part said to resemble a man, the lower part a bird; merman; in Hindu mythology it means a kind of demi-god attached to the service of Kuwera, chief of the devils; celestial musician.

As this description is not quite in accordance with the actual figures as moulded, I have ventured to describe them as angels, as possibly more fitting.

Note (b)—I think it is desirable here to remark that though my exploration was for the most part through what was once



THE "TOWER" OF "WESTMINSTER ABBEY"
SEEN FROM BOWELA



EASTERN FLANK OF "TOWER," "WESTMINSTER ABBEY"

III.



ONE OF THE CAVES, "WESTMINSTER ABBEY"

IV.



HIGHEST CAVE, "WESTMINSTER ABBEY"



ROYAL POKUNA ON SUMMIT OF "WESTMINSTER ABBEY"

VI.



BUND OF RESERVOIR ON SUMMIT OF
"WESTMINSTER ABBEY."

འཇམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོས་པའི་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་
 འཇམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོས་པའི་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་
 འཇམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོས་པའི་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་

(a) INSCRIPTION FROM THE FIRST CAVE ON THE EAST FLANK OF "WESTMINSTER ABBEY"

འཇམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོས་པའི་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་
 འཇམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོས་པའི་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་

(a) FROM THE HEEN VIHARA AT BUDDAMA.

འཇམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོས་པའི་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་
 འཇམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོས་པའི་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་

VIII.



RUINED DAGOBA AT NAMALUWA HELA.

IX.



SATARAVALLI-KALUTTU-MALLAI



PEOPLE OF KUMANAI.

the country of the Veddás, yet, with the exception of the family to which I refer, the inhabitants of all the villages visited by me professed to belong to castes of the pure Sinhalese.

My impression is that these people do not care to admit that they are of Veddá descent, or that they are the offspring of mixed origin, though I have very little doubt but what they are.

That the true Veddá no longer exists in the country I explored, I am equally certain of: I mean in unalloyed form, but it is certain that in the majority of cases the scattered people I saw have so far mingled with their more civilised neighbours as to adopt their ways and speech that they now desire to be classed with them.

I made repeated efforts to get a list of Veddá words, and failed. I was promised that if I spoke to a certain man *alone*, he would teach me, but when the time came the man was not to be found.

Even Dissan Hamy, who admitted his Veddá origin to me, stoutly declared that he did not know how to speak their tongue *now*.

As a proof that the language is kept secret, I may add that late one night I heard a wrangle between two people in a hut close to my camp, and though I could hear them speaking quite clearly, I did not understand a word that passed. Yet these people declared that they could only speak in Sinhalese.

Headmen and people alike are unanimous in saying that the wild Veddá no longer exists, and if we consider the conditions under which they existed, I think there is little room for doubt that such is the case, and that it is only in a hybrid form that we find traces of them at the present day. It is worthy of note that in the description of his clan by the man Dissan Hamy, there is very little material difference in what he says with the descriptions given by very early writers on the subject of these interesting people.

6. Mr. P. E. Pieris proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

7. The Chairman, Sir P. Arunáchalam: I take it, ladies and gentlemen, that every one of you agrees with that motion and will carry it with acclamation (applause). The most interesting matter brought to light by the lecturer is the evidence that within recent times there probably existed a pygmy race called the *Nittawo**, who lived in caves and crevices, tore their prey to pieces with their nails and were bitter enemies of the Veddás. It is interesting to come on the track of a people who appear in Homer as a tiny folk who dwelt by the streams of Ocean and were at perpetual war with cranes; in Xenophon as inhabiting the island of Ægina and called Myrmidons (ants) from their diminutive size and earth-dwellings; and in Herodotus as inhabiting Equatorial Africa, where in recent times Schweinfurth and Stanley have discovered undersized races. The subject deserves further investigation to confirm or disprove the traditions that Mr. Lewis has reported. Among the Veddá habits he has mentioned the women's game of tossing leaves in the air. This is referred to in an ancient Tamil poem, *Tiru-muruk-árrup-paḍai*, as a game of wood-nymphs.

“ They pick the tender wood-apple leaf,
And on each other throw, to their charms' increase,
And chant in praise,
Long live the flag, the ever victorious Chanticleer ”—

the standard of the Kattaragama God whom the Veddás worship.

8. Mr. Lewis returned thanks and expressed his indebtedness to Mr. Pickering for the loan of a very good camera and to the Survey Department for the excellent map he had shown on the screen and to them all for their patience in hearing him.

9. A vote of thanks to the chair proposed by Dr. Nell brought the proceedings to a close.

* “ Mitto.”

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 15, 1914.

Present :

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M. A. Cantab.,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

Sir S. C. Obeyesékara, Kt., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Hartley, Vice-President.

Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate
Mudaliyár
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.
The Right Rev. Dr. E. A.
Copleston, D.D., the Lord
Bishop of Colombo.

Mr. A. Mendis Gunasékera,
Mudaliyár.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Messrs. E. B. F. Sueter, C. C. S., and Gerard A. Joseph, C. C. S.,
Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on
13th May, 1913.

2. Read the following names of Members elected by circular
since the last Council Meeting, viz:—

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|------------------------|
| (a) J. Thomson Broom: re- | { | Herbert Tarrant. |
| commended by | | H. C. P. Bell. |
| (b) C. A. Hare: recommended | { | F. A. Hayley. |
| by | | E. B. F. Sueter. |
| (c) D. Buddhadasa: recom- | { | W. Chas. de Silva. |
| mended by | | Widurupola Piyatissa. |
| (d) A. P. Gooneratne: re- | { | E. R. Gooneratne. |
| commended by | | D. B. Jayatilaka. |
| (e) G. W. de Silva: recom- | { | E. W. Perera. |
| mended by | | Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (f) Victor J. Cooke, J.P., U.P.M. : | { | Gerard A. Joseph. |
| recommended by | | Joseph Pearson. |
| (g) Dadabhoy Nussurvanjee: | { | N. D. A. S. Wijesinhe. |
| recommended by | | M. Kelway Bamber. |
| (h) C. H. Z. Fernando, B.A., | { | D. B. Jayatilaka. |
| L.L.B. : recommended by | | E. W. Perera. |

3. Considered and passed the election of the following Members:—

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---------------------|
| (a) A. Wickramasinghe: re- | { | S. B. Kuruppu. |
| commended by | | W. Samarasinghe. |
| (b) J. J. Gunawardana: re- | { | J. A. Gooneratne. |
| commended by | | W. F. Goonawardana. |

4. Considered the printing agreement with the Colombo Apothecaries Company, and laid on the table correspondence connected therewith.

Resolved,—That the last draft printing agreement be accepted on the understanding that it be signed on the 27th October, 1914, as agreed to by the Colombo Apothecaries Company.

5. Read memoranda by Mr. H. C. P. Bell regarding “copy” for Journal No. 66, 1913, and “Ceylon Notes and Queries” Part V.

6. Considered whether Ms. remarks of absent Members on Papers should be read at Meetings.

Resolved,—That observations intended to be read at Meetings be received, if sent in three days before the Meeting, and the acceptance or the non-acceptance of such observations (in whole or part) be left to the discretion of the President and Honorary Secretaries.

7. Read a letter from Dr. Lionel Giles, dated 17th June, 1914, regarding the Chinese references to Ceylon; and laid on the table connected papers therewith.

Resolved,—That Dr. Giles be asked what he would charge for translating the passages referred to in his letter.

8. Read a letter dated 9th July, 1914, from the Royal Society of South Australia asking for an exchange of publications.

Resolved,—That the matter be referred to the Colombo Museum with a view to that Institution arranging for an exchange of publications.

9. Laid on the table a letter from the Honorary Secretary, Prince of Wales' War Fund, soliciting subscriptions.

Resolved,—That the Honorary Secretary, Prince of Wales' War Fund, be informed that most of the Members of this Society have individually subscribed to the Fund, and that the Council regret that the Society as a body is not in a position to subscribe.

10. Read letter from Mr. F. D. Jayasinghe resigning the post of Clerk, and asking that the resignation be allowed to take effect after December 31, 1914.

Resolved,—That a Clerk on probation be engaged for six months from 1st December, 1914, on a salary of Rs. 30.00 per mensem, rising to Rs. 50.00 at Rs. 5.00 a year.

11. Laid on the table a translation by Mr. John M. Seneviratne of Professor Sylvain Levi's Articles in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1900, containing the Early and Middle Age Chinese references

to Ceylon, together with a Note by Mr. Seneviratne on their bearing on Sinhalese chronology.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to a Sub-Committee, consisting of Messrs. C. Hartley, Vice-President, E. B. F. Sueter and P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., for the favour of their opinions as to whether the Paper should be accepted for reading at a General Meeting of the Society or printed in the Society's Journal.

12. Laid on the table Mr. John M. Seneviratne's Interim Report on the cataloguing of the Society's Library.

Resolved,—That Mr. Seneviratne be thanked for his Report, and that he be informed that the Council await his final Report, together with the manuscript "copy" of the Catalogue.

Further resolved,—That a Sub-Committee, consisting of the President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, the Honorary Secretaries, Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Dr. A. Nell, be appointed to deal with the matter.





